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## M. M. Gopinath Kaviraj

1887-1976

Mahamahopadhyaya Gopinath Kaviraj, who was destined to be the leading figure in the field of Indological studies and spiritual quest of man, and brought glory to Varanasi, the age old seat of traditional Sanskrit learning, came to this city as a student to Dr. Arthur Venis, the illustrious Principal of the Govt. Sanskrit College, in 1910 at the age of 23 years. Since then till his death on 12th June 1976, he maintained and upheld the noblest tradition of Sanskrit scholarship marked by selfless dissemination of knowledge. To Kaviraj, knowledge stood for 'parā vidyā' supreme knowledge which has no other objective than the realisation of the ultimate reality. Rooted in this conviction, this great scholar lived a saintly life of exemplary simplicity and kept his door open to all who cared to approach him. His house was a true Āśrama of old, where permission was not a necessary precondition for admission. Till he shifted to the Ānandamayī Āśrama for medical treatment in 1969, one was sure to find the great scholar sitting in his room on the first floor of his house at Sigra, surrounded by a great number of books and invariably by some enquirers who observed no formality with regard to time, and explaining subtle philosophic points in an animated voice that rang conviction. He symbolised the true Indian spirit of selfless devotion to knowledge that keeps carefully away from all personal publicity and popular approbation, holding, with Manu, that a Brāhmaṇa should always shrink from celebrity as from poison. [समानाद् ब्राह्मणो नित्यमुद्विजेत विषादिव—Manu II. 162] Such an ideal is rare to be found and so Gopinath Kaviraj would always remain an institution in himself.

### I

Gopinath Kaviraj was born of a Bengali Brāhmaṇa family on 7th September, 1887 in the village Dhamrai in the district of Dacca of the then East Bengal, now Bangla Desh. His parents were Vaikunthanath and Sukhada sundari. Vaikunthanath died a premature death while studying in the M. A. classes at the University of Calcutta, five months before the birth of his only child. Vaikunthanath belonged to the village, Danya in the Tangail sub-division of the district of Mymensingh (Bangla Desh). As a result, the posthumous child, named Gopinath after the family deity, was brought up in the care of Kalachand Sanyal, a relation in another village, Kanthalia in the same subdivision of Tangail. Kalachand had no child of his own and took special fancy to young Gopinath whom he declared to be his heir. The young boy, however, could not inherit the



property after the death of Kalachand due to machinations of other crafty relations. As a result, the young Gopinath had to face financial stringency right from his childhood, which however strengthened in him a sense of self-reliance at the earliest phase of life.

Gopinath had his primary education up to the sixth standard in Schools at Dhamrai and Kanthalia villages wherefrom he went to the city of Dacca and joined the Jubilee School. He studied there from the seventh to the tenth standard and passed the Entrance examination in the first division from the University of Calcutta in 1905 at the age of 18. By this time, Gopinath fell a victim to Malaria and had to take a year's leave from regular academic life.

Deteriorating health and financial stringency posed before him a serious problem. He found the climate of Bengal rather inclement to his poor constitution. When he was thus seriously debating as to how he could study further, he came across, by a sheer coincidence, an article by Dharmananda Bharati on the Bengalis in Jaipur. The writer had detailed in that article the role of Bengalis in the administration of the state and gave an account of the Maharaja's College, Jaipur. What impressed the young boy most was the information that no tuition fees were charged at the College. This information was very welcome to the boy who was despaired of higher education due to precarious financial condition and poor health. He came to know from the article that the Dewan of the state was Sansar Chandra Sen and the principal of the College, Sanjivan Ganguli—both natives of Bengal. Jaipur presented a grand solution of his twin problems and the young man set out for Jaipur a city totally unknown and removed from his native place by nearly 1500 kilometres, in 1906.

Gopinath, however, was warmly received by two teachers of the College Meghnad Bhattacharya, younger brother of the famous Indologist, Mahamahopadhyaya Haraprasad Shastri and popularly known as Guruji Maharaj—the teacher of Mathematics and Nabakrishna Roy, the teacher of English. He also met Sansar Chandra Sen, the Dewan of the State and was assured of all necessary facilities. Gopinath almost immediately drew the appreciative attention of his teachers by his wide range of study and singular devotion. Nabakrishna Roy, the teacher of English and himself a poet of some note was pleasantly surprised at the masterful explanation by Gopinath of a poem of Wordsworth (The world is too much with us). Here, he studied for four years and passed the B. A. examination in 1910 in the first class from the University of Allahabad to which Jaipur was affiliated.

Jaipur provided a great scope to the young inquirer to quench his thirst for knowledge. He was already introspective and a voracious reader. While in Dacca, he took to composing poems which though lacked maturity were nonetheless



expressive of the philosophic bent of mind. At Jaipur he found a greater scope for reading in the rich library of the Maharaja and his favourite subjects were literature and mysticism. He studied almost all available works on mysticism and occultism along with the classics—Greek, French, German, Italian and Spanish, in translation. Gopinath was a serious student and believed in thoroughness. He would take notes and never permit anything to be forgotten. He trained his memory in such a way that he could always refer to all books read by him. His interest for philosophy took a definite shape at Jaipur which thus played a very important role in his life.

## II

The final phase of Gopinath's education started at Varanasi. The young graduate came to this city in 1910 and met Dr. Arthur Venis, the principal of the Govt. Sanskrit College. Dr. Venis was impressed by his bright academic career and advised him to join the M. A. classes. On the advice of Dr. Venis, Gopinath opted for Group D which consisted of Ancient History, Numismatics, Epigraphy etc. The principal asked him to study, in addition, Sanskrit at the Sanskrit wing. He asked him to read the Bhamati commentary on the Vedanta by himself but to attend the classes on Nyāya philosophy of Vamacharan Bhattacharya ( Mahamahopadhyaya ), the famous pandit who was the senior professor of Nyāya in the College. The principal granted him the Sadholal Scholarship as well.

Gopinath took his residence at the locality named Devnathpura and started his post-graduate studies. He had to go twice to the College. Dr. Venis used to teach them Epigraphy in the morning at his bungalow and he had to attend the classes of Prof. Norman in the afternoon, who taught German, French, Prakrit & Pali. Along with it, he attended the classes of Vamacharan Bhattacharya as well. He took the 5th year ( M. A. Previous ) examination held at Allahabad University in 1911. On account of a very serious strain due to walking twice daily to the College more than 2 miles away from his residence, Gopinath fell ill and went to Calcutta after his examination, for treatment. He then proceeded to Puri for a change and stayed there for some months and could return to Varanasi by January 1912 to resume his studies. He thus lost nearly 2 years before he could join the final year classes. As a result, he became a class fellow of Acharya Narendra Deva, the famous Socialist leader.

Dr. Venis being acquainted with the difficulties of his favourite student allotted him a room in the Hostel. Gopinath shifted to the Hostel and again devoted himself to the studies. In the final examination he did brilliantly well. Dr. Venis and Prof. D. R. Bhandarkar conducted his viva voce examination and he



passed the M. A. examination from the University of Allahabad in 1914, standing first in order of merit in the first class.

The result reached him at Nainital where he had gone in the summer. Dr. Venis was also there, who asked his student to meet Munshi Madholal the donor of the Sadholal scholarship, who also was at Nainital then, and express his gratitude. Almost simultaneously he received two telegrams one from the authorities of the Lahore College offering him the post of professor at the College and another from Sanjivan Ganguli, principal of the Maharaja's College, Jaipur asking him to join the Mayo College, Ajmere. Gopinath naturally looked up to Dr. Venis for advise who however did not approve of his joining the College but advised him to undertake research work in the field of Sanskritic studies for a few years more. He however, assured him of an adequate scholarship.

Through the offices of Dr. Venis, Gopinath was appointed Librarian of the newly founded manuscripts library of the Govt. Sanskrit College, Saraswati Bhavan and started his career of research. The University of Allahabad opened a new Department of Post-vedic studies under the headship of Dr. Venis. The classes of this department used to be held at Varanasi. Gopinath was also appointed in the Department and engaged tutorial and lecture classes for the post graduate students in the Saraswati Bhavan.

He served the Saraswati Bhavan as Librarian for six years (1914-1920) and then was appointed Principal of the College after Dr. Ganganath Jha, the previous incumbent, had relinquished his office. The first unsought honour came to him in 1934 when the Government of India conferred upon him the title of Mahamahopadhyaya in recognition of his valuable service in the field of traditional Sanskrit Scholarship. After serving the institution as Principal for 17 years, Gopinath voluntarily retired from service in 1937.

### III

Varanasi gave Gopinath eminence and wide-spread recognition. As Librarian of the Saraswati Bhavan, he introduced two series of publications which show his farsight and interest in Sanskritic research. His entire attention, by now, became steadily concentrated upon Philosophy in general and obscure schools such as yoga, Śaiva philosophy and Tantra in particular. At the same time, he started contacting the Sādhakas and yogis in his quest for the practical aspect of the different esoteric ways of Sādhana. The stages of the development of his personality may be pointed out thus—a keen researcher, a greatly gifted academician, a devoted seeker of truth and ultimately a spiritual guide.

contd. on page—67



M. M. Gopinath Kaviraj

## Tāntrika Ideal of Perfection

*Rendered into English from Bengali by Pt. H. N. Chakravorty*

The ancient philosophers of India have repeatedly discussed the supreme end of man and his aspiration for his *sādhana*. In the following topic we shall try to understand the Tāntrika standpoint in comparison with that of Sāṅkhya and Vedānta view.

We have been flouting on the current of life reaping all the time fruits of pleasure and pain and passing through innumerable transmigrations of life. The controlling factor of the passage to the higher position or to the lower one is considered to be our deeds, good or bad and the resultant transmigration is the effect. When a higher position is attained, viz. when one goes to heaven, one gets the opportunity of enjoying pleasure and powers and this sort of enjoyment lasts long. But no sooner one's virtue wanes than the body born of virtue, falls off with the result that he comes back to the worldly regions of *Jīvas*. The upper region means here *svarga* which is of two kinds: one is the lower heaven the presiding diety of which is Indra. This lower *svarga* fulfils the desire of those who worship the diety with desire (*sakāma*). Here the worshipper finds a long span of life, companionship of favourable *apsaras* (celestial deities), divine beauty, divine perfume, draught of the juice of nectar; these and other sorts of pleasure are possibly available to him. By merit of good deeds they are enjoyed but as he is devoid of the knowledge of truth, he falls down from the realm of *bhoga* (enjoyment) as soon as his good deeds decline. For them there is the spacious Amarāvati what to say of other deities, they have their regions of pleasure according to their respective power and authority. Every deity offers his worshipper the wealth of enjoyment. But all these depend on *Karma* (deeds) and the salient feature of the movement along the path of *Pitryāna* is devoid of *Jñāna*. Above the region of Indra and superior to the one just described, there is another upper *svarga*. It is also the region of enjoyment. When enjoyment is accomplished in any of its various levels, the enjoyer does not experience the pain of a fall but goes to the next higher region. This region extends upto *Brahmaloka*. one who follows the *Devayāna* path. As to the follower of the way of *Pitryāna* there is *svarga* for the enjoyment of pleasure, similarly there are innumerable nether worlds for suffering of pains and he is to come back to the world to be born as a *Jīva*.



The whole world-complex is born of *Karma* (deeds). The moving and the unmoving world and the souls travelling through 84 lakhs of *Yonis* are born of *Karma*, these are, on the whole, the extent of creation. It is possible only for a human being to perform *Karma*. Before obtaining a *manomaya koṣa*, i.e. in the *annamaya* and *prāṇamaya koṣa*, there is no possibility of performing a deed. By dint of *Karma* done in the human body, if *jñāna* develops gradually, he acquires the fitness of possessing a *viññānamaya koṣa*, and its further development leads him to acquire a *ānandamaya koṣa*. Here the world or *saṃsāra* of which we have spoken above is the region for the *jīva* to reap the fruit of life in the form of pleasure and pain. This *saṃsāra* is endless, not only it consists of various stages but also in its multifarious nature. Just as innumerable *svargas* and *narakas* are created for the enjoyment and suffering of deeds done in the human body, in the same way, viewing internally, in accordance with the competency and fitness of enjoying *ānanda* and *śakti* (bliss and power) various sorts of *Koṣa* have come into being. All these comprise the entire world system. It includes *svarga*, *naraka*, and the region of the *pretas*. They are the regions for the *jīvas* who are externally inclined and where they enjoy and suffer the fruits of impure deeds, whereas, the world of *viññāna* and *ānanda* with which *koṣas* of *viññāna* and *ānanda* have relations are the regions for those who are internally inclined. A small portion of *Saṃsāra* is the region of *Karma* and the rest is the place of *bhoga*.

At the root of experience of pleasure and pain, which is termed as *bhoga*, as due to deeds done in the human body and the various regions where the *Jīva* experiences them, are created to reap the fruit of his past deeds. So long as he cannot realize the true nature of the self he is bound to experience them and is unable to get rid of them.

Knowing the body as the self is to be considered as *ajñāna* or false notion. To consider the body, the mind, vital energy or intellect to be one's own real self is a false notion in the form of indiscrimination. Man realizes for the first time with the help of discriminative judgment that the self is neither this gross body, the subtle body, nor even any category belonging to *Prakṛti* individually or collectively. At first he realizes this in the intellectual level by the help of intellectual judgment but in the end when he realizes intuitionally that he is separate not only from the twenty four categories belonging to *Prakṛti* and the body made of twenty four *tatvas* and *Prakṛti* itself, at that stage it may be said that he has attained perfect discriminative judgment. After the arising of discriminative judgment, when the body is left aside, the self being released from the association of *Prakṛti*, attains its pure state. The residual trace of past deeds or on account of *ajñāna* for which he was to have a form and to assume a body, has gone forever. This is the cessation of *ajñāna* the factor to cause a body, which is due to the arising of discriminative judgment. At this stage *Puruṣa* as self, being free from the association of *Prakṛti*, rests in his own *cit* state. This is called *kaivalya*. Innumerable souls or *Puruṣas* after the attain-



ment of *kaivalya* are resting in their pristine glory of *cit*. It is a state beyond *Prakṛti*. As there is no residual trace as the seed born of false knowledge ( *ajñāna* ), occurrence of birth is quite impossible. The number of souls is innumerable. Every soul rests in isolation and is not connected with anything else and is dissociated with *Prakṛti*. When he was in his experiencing nature, he had a body to experience pleasure and pain through different cycles of transmigrations. But now all the *saṁskāras* of past deeds have burnt away by his discriminative knowledge and as there is no possibility of them to re-occur, the state of the *kaivali* souls is beyond pleasure and pain. But so long one is not able to realize one's own identity with Brahman one is to remain satisfied with the state of isolation, i. e. at that stage *kaivalya* of Sāṅkhya seems to be one's supreme end.

After passing the stage of *jñāna* as propounded in the Sāṅkhya system, when one enters the stage of *jñāna* as preached in the Vedānta system, one attains *Brahma bhāva*. It is a kind of *Kaivalya*. In the former stage *cit* as manifested before was many, whereas in the latter stage we find *cit* in its entirety, free from all impurities ( *nirāñjana* state ). From the view point of Advaita Vedānta this is considered to be the supreme end. The theory of knowledge as propounded in Vedānta is different from that of Sāṅkhya. In the same way the theory of error as is seen in Sāṅkhya is different from error or *ajñāna* as held in Vedānta. Because of this difference, in Sāṅkhya view where no trace of *Avidyā* is seen, it is still perceived in the Vedānta view. This *ajñāna* is not to be considered as a sort of indiscriminative knowledge. So long this *Mulāvidyā* (Radical Nescience) does not cease, the *Jīva* cannot attain the Supreme End. It may be thought that after the attainment of advaita level, effort or aspiration for further attainment is useless. But the *sādhaka* or a *Yogi* finds in the outlook of āgama, in this very stage, a new and wider vision of advaita which manifests itself with all glory and brilliance. Here the advaita view is to be taken as is seen in Tantra or Āgama. By the *sādhana* of Vedānta, the soul has found a firm footing in the truth of 'Ekamevādvitīyam'. But this is a semblance of *pūrṇatā*, for even in this stage because of the lack of *sphuratta* (manifestation) of *Cit*. *Śakti* who is *Samvid*, Herself, cannot be called fullness ( *pūrṇatā* ) for where there is pure fullness, there arises an absolute unrelatedness. According to this view the soul is self-manifest *Śiva* by nature. There is little doubt about it but it is devoid of *svātantrya*, even though, it is the basis ( *adhiṣṭhāna* ) of *Māyā* which is non-identical with *Parāsaṁvit* which is Free Will by nature. It is true that *Māyā* in Vedānta is able to accomplish impossible but according to that system *Māyā* is not identical with the soul. It is indescribable and false. According to Vedānta *Ātman* as Brahman is devoid of I-ness ( *ahantā* ). *Ahantā* (Ego) is born of *Māyā* hence it is unreal. In the Tāntric view *ahantā* is the nature ( *svartūpa* ) belonging to *Ātman* which is known as *vimarśa* ( self-reflection ). In the event of non-existence of *ahantā*, *Ātman*, though being light ( *prakāśa* ), would remain unmanifest. Bhartṛhari has said :



*Vāgrūpatā Cedud krāmedavabodhasya śāsvatī  
Na prakāśa prakāśeta sā hi pratyavamarṣiṇī*

This *vāk* or *Parāvāk* is the power of freedom which is *vimarśa* by nature. The Tāntric teacher says that *jñāna* in Vedānta is not the fully developed form of *jñāna*. When *jñāna* shines forth in its fullness, the *Ātman* finds itself not only in its advaita nature but realises that it is a state of non-duality and is full of Freewill ( *pūrṇa Svātantrya* ). This is full I-ness.

The thing which we call creation or the created universe is lying within *Ātman* as one and identical with it. The self is free and as such is free to act and do. It is not simply a conscious substratum ( *adhikaraṇa* ). It is Śiva in the one hand and Śakti on the other. Śiva is sentient and Śakti is also sentient, *Ātman* as Śiva is without *spanda* but as Śakti is full of *spanda*. The scholars of Āgama have presupposed Śiva and Śakti as two principles to be at the root of the universe and its composition. If the two are considered as non-different, it is then known as *Ātman*. At the basis of thirty six categories there are two *tattovas*, one of which is Śiva and the other is Śakti. Śiva is devoid of freedom ( *svāntrya* ) but *cit* ( consciousness ), while Śakti is full of freedom but without consciousness ( *cit* ). When Śiva Śakti is taken together, it is fullness ( *pūrṇatā* ). This is called *Parama Śiva* or *Parāśaivait*. This is the true nature ( *svarūpa* ) of the Transcending or the Integrāl Truth. From the non-dualistic view of the Śaivas we call it *Paramaśiva* possessing perfect freedom and from the view of the non-dualistic Śāktas it is super-conscious Freedom or *Mahāśakti*.

The one who is established in the firm conviction on the above view, realizes that without reaching this point, fullness of human life is not possible. The views in Sāṅkhya, Vedānta and other similar systems are only flight of steps which leads to fulness with freedom and which is necessarily to be attained, for man's effort does not cease until he reaches this goal. Viewed from here, as has been stated before, that wisdom ( *jñāna* ) in Sāṅkhya is not the real wisdom and similarly *ajñāna* is not also the real ignorance. Hence by the help of real wisdom as held by Sāṅkhya, it is possible to counteract ignorance and bring an end of it, yet the cessation of it is only relative, not final. According to the Tāntrics the same may be repeated regarding wisdom and ignorance as held by Vedānta. The Tāntrics are of opinion that true wisdom is that which dispels *ānava mala* possessed by *Jīva* with the consequence of which he is fully established in his Śiva nature resulting in his ability to attain full freedom.

It may be asked here what the real nature of wisdom is. According to Sāṅkhya its nature is that *Ātman* is pure *cit* (consciousness) and is distinct from *Prakṛti* of three constituents. This sort of discriminative knowledge is considered to be the real knowledge. As the result of this knowledge spirit or *Puruṣa* attains



liberation or *kevalatva* which is beyond birth and death. But to the Tāntric the upper limit of ascension to the Sāṅkhya, does not go beyond. Similar to the view of Tantra, the nature of wisdom according to the Vedānta system is that the self is beyond *Māyā* and its nature is Brahma who is *sat-cit-ānanda* (being-consciousness-bliss). This is the changeless nature ( *kūṭastha* ) of *Ātman*. The outcome of perfect wisdom is to become free from *Māyā* and to be established in it. According to this system the only reality is *Ātman*, but *Māyā* and its result ( *Kārya* ) being indescribable, is unreal. The agency *kartṛtva* of the world is imposed on *Ātman* on account of super imposition ( *adhyāsa* ) Because of this *Īśvara* as the support of *Māyā* comes into being. But really Brahma, transcending *Māyā* is the supreme reality—this is perfect knowledge. The Tāntric scholar says, on the contrary, that knowledge does not end here for, knowledge as stated above, is devoid of *ahanta*. Light which is fully luminous is invariably of the nature of full I-ness. This is which is called *vimarśa*—another name of which is I-ness, on account which it is the self ( *Ātman* ) which shines as *Parameśvara*. Every individual soul so long as it does not attain this position, is deprived of its fully manifested nature.

According to the Tāntric view it is *śuddhavidyā* which is of the nature of knowledge. It is distinctively different in character from *Prakṛti*, *Māyā* and even *Mahāmāyā*. It is conveyed to *Jīva*, the animal in bondage by *Paramaśiva* in the form Guru, the teacher. In the event of the *Jīvas*' inability to receive *śuddhavidyā*, he is unable to become *Śiva*. So long he does not receive *śuddhavidyā* in the form of supreme mantra from Guru he is to remain satisfied with lower ideals like *kaivalya* etc.

The transference of *śuddhavidyā* comes about from Great Lord. It may happen either during creation or dissolution when creation ceases. But whenever it may occur, as soon as the soul acquires fitness to receive it, the Great Lord offers it to him. Though there is no restriction of time, yet there is difference of opinion on which the fitness of the recipient for receiving this higher knowledge depends. In spite of difference of views every opinion has truth in it yet for the clear understanding of the thing only three views are being discussed here. Among them one is the ripening of *malas*, the second is the equilibrium of *Karma* and the third is the free will *svātantrya* of God. In the view of duality the ripening of *mala* and equilibrium of *Karma* are considered to be the factors but in the Advaita view the free will of God is at the root of it. For the sake of lucidity we shall try to explain the thing 'ripening of mala' from the dvaita standpoint. Here *mala* means *Anava mala*. The eyes of the intuitive knowledge of *Jīva* have ever been closed from the beginningless time by the impurity in the form of a cover, so he is not able to realize his true nature. As everything is depending on time and as *mala* is a substance ( *dravya* ) by nature it is getting ripe gradually. The ripening of *mala* is due to time and other causes.



## Hinduism's Second Shot At Becoming A Missionary Religion

Unlike Christianity and Islam, Hinduism has never been a full blown missionary religion. There has been no Hindu guru, avatāra, ascetic, saint or prophet urging his people to spread the word of the Lord Brahman to the far corners of the earth. However, before the advent of Islam in India, one finds historical evidence indicating that Hinduism took its first half-hearted shot at becoming a missionary religion by extending its domain to the Indonesian Is land and the South East Asian region. The missionary stance of Hinduism during this period had a significant influence on the people and cultures of those lands. With the coming of Islam to India, Hinduism's fledgling missionary spirit was temporarily interrupted. Hindu history from pre-Islamic days to the end of the last century fully shows a lack of missionary zeal. But Hinduism did make a second attempt to revive its missionary spirit in the last part of the nineteenth century, and emerged a full blown missionary religion in the twentieth century. The incentive provided by R. M. Roy, Ramakrishna, and others, culminated in the thoughts and actions of Swami Vivekananda, who established the first Hindu Mission (Ramakrishna-Vivekananda Center) abroad in 1894.

During his meteoric missionary career, Vivekananda espoused a popular version of Hinduism which attracted an immediate following in the West, though only among a small but influential group of intellectuals. "Intellectually, the influence of this form of Vedānta has been enormous. It was because of the American Vedāntists—numbering some of the best minds of our time—that the East was taken seriously here." Once the missionary door to the West was open, there began a slow and steady flow<sup>1</sup> of spiritual masters from India. Jane Howard, writing in *Life*, describes this spiritual phenomenon as "the Swami Circuit—a loose network of holy men who in a remarkable sort of brain drain, or spiritual drain, have been drifting in from caves and āśramas back in India to

1. Jacob Needleman, *The New Religions*, (New York : Doubleday & Co., 1970), p. 213.



fulfil their earthly destiny in time round by setting up institutes and centers all over America." During the first half of the twentieth century, the spiritual invasion from<sup>2</sup> India left its settlers in the West in the form of Vedānta societies, various Yoga organizations, and spiritual groups. Though they are doing their share of adding their unique religious ideas to the spiritual stream of the West, "they have more or less sedately blended into the foliage."

This "bullockcart" spiritual invasion has picked up rocket-like<sup>3</sup> speed since 1960. Hindu spiritual invaders of the nineteen sixties have started an unusual business partnership with the people of the West in the garb of spirituality. Jacob Needleman's research is significant in understanding this "spiritual explosion" in America. He writes : "What gives this whole movement its real significance and life is the arrival in this country of certain unusual men from the East who have brought with them practical teachings and forms of organization, each of which in its own way is not only new to the West, but new to the world." Though the responsibility for introducing Hinduism's basic ideas to the West falls<sup>4</sup> on the Ramakrishna Mission and similar societies, as well as on the Western disciples of these organizations, the greatest contribution on a grass-roots level has been made by the Society for Transcendental Meditation led by Mahārishi Mahesh Yogi, the Hare Krishna Movement of Swami Bhaktivedanta, and the Divine Light Mission of Guru Maharaj ji.

The speed with which these three movements have attracted followers makes them unique and worthy of study. In America alone there are more than one million of these practitioners. This 'Western rush to the spiritual India' or 'the Ganges<sup>5</sup> flowing to the West' as some writers call it, has caught the Jewish and Christian leadership in America unexpectedly. Ken Kelley commenting on the "Guru Maharaj ji Phenomenon" writes this in *Vogue* : "Few people would have predicted twenty years ago that a small German import would challenge Detroit's automobile supremacy, just as a few now predict that a diminutive from India can overtake Billy Graham or the Pope." Those who regarded this guru phenomenon to be a passing phase on the part of<sup>6</sup> American youth are shocked to learn

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2. See *Life*, Feb, 9, 1968, p. 57.

3. See Needleman, p. 8.

4. *Ibid.*, p. xii.

5. See Harrison Pope's Book *The Road East : America's New Discovery of Eastern Wisdom* where a method is suggested to calculate the number of Americans involved in some kind of Eastern Religious Practice.

6. See Ken Kelley's article "East Indian Teen-ager Says He is God," in *Vogue*, March 1974.



that "the guru has generated what may well be the fastest growing cult in the West." This mass scale religious conversion of thirty to forty thousand a month is the<sup>7</sup> most unique event since the scientific revolution in the West.<sup>8</sup>

In this paper, an attempt will be made to reveal the unusual missionary zeal underlying the above three movements. The first half of the paper will summarize the essential doctrines and practices of the movement and the second part will be concerned with exhibiting their missionary spirit.

## Part I

This is the Motherland of philosophy, of spirituality, and of ethics, of sweetness, gentleness, and love.

Slow and silent, as the gentle dew that falls in the morning, unseen and unheard, yet producing a most tremendous result, has been the work of this calm, patient, all-suffering, spiritual race, upon the world of thought.

[We]...must start the wave which is going to spiritualize the material civilization of the world.

Those were the words of Swami Vivekananda, the first Hindu missionary to the West. Vivekananda's advice was heeded whole heartedly by Maharishi Mahesh Yogi. In 1959, he travelled to the 'spiritual desert' of the West to advance the cause of the Spiritual Regeneration Movement, carrying<sup>9</sup> with him a doctrine of 'Creative Intelligence' and the technique of 'Transcendental Meditation.' The system advocated by the Maharishi is simple in content and easy to practice. It is a watered-down version of the thoughts contained in the Bhagavad Gītā. The entire system can be summarized into three general statements: the ultimate reality is Transcendental Being or bliss-consciousness; this bliss-consciousness is the basic nature of man; and it is accessible to anyone who uses the technique of transcendental meditation. The technique can be taught easily in its two distinctive aspects: "first, the effort to experience thought in its finest possible state until the active or experiencing mind goes below the mental to the source of thought; second, the use of mantra, or thought-sound, by which to lead the mind past meaning to a creative calm." Since the natural state of man is joy,

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7. *Newsweek*, May 15, 1972, pp. 14-15.

8. See Pope and *Time*, October 13, 1975.

9. See an interesting article by David Haddon "New Plant Thrives in a Spiritual Desert" in *Christianity Today*, December 21, 1973.



the Maharishi insists that this state<sup>10</sup> can comfortably be realized by anyone who learns transcendental meditation from an authorized teacher. The necessity of personal guidance is emphasized because only a teacher trained by the Spiritual Regeneration Movement is qualified to provide the aspirant with a mantra in harmony with the latter's personality; to teach the use of the mantra 'to experience the subtle states of thinking'; and finally, to check his experiences as he continues the practice.

The attractive features of transcendental meditation are its simplicity and mechanization. The Maharishi described this to a reporter: "I have mechanized the whole thing," the Maharishi said, "Think of blood specimens. As specimens may vary, so may the proper syllable or sound for a person. It should resonate to the pulse of his thought and, as it resonates create an increasing soothing influence." The simple structure of the Maharishi's teaching has captured the 'affluent, tension-ridden westerners,' because it offers them a method to achieve instant bliss without having to renounce their way of life. Followers are drawn to it because it is accessible, requires no preparation, asks no rejection of the past, and no resolutions for the future. This here and now, self-centered, bliss philosophy is congruent with the hedonism of the West.<sup>13</sup> It offers an appeal to the people of a technological society because it promises them worldly joy, a restful sleep at night, and an extraordinary vigor during the waking hours. What has attracted a deluge of followers is the exaggerated claim that transcendental meditation can provide a realm of experience which till now was accessible only to geniuses.<sup>14</sup>

Maharishi Mahesh Yogi is not the only Hindu missionary<sup>14</sup> who offered instant nirvāṇa to the alienated, insecure, and spiritually hallow generation of the sixties. In 1965, there arrived in New York another devotee and messenger of Lord Krishna who promised bliss through the adoption of the completely alien style of a 'Bhakta of Krishna'. Swami Bhaktivedanta, the founder of the International Society for Krishna Consciousness also called Hare Krishna Movement, did not bring with him from India another watered down doctrine which stressed "the tolerant all-path-lead-to truth interpretation of Hinduism," but the "hard line" Chaitanya Krishnaite sect of Hinduism.<sup>15</sup> Since this sect is a part of the Hindu

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10. Robert McDermott & V. S. Naravane, *The Spirit of Modern India*, (New York : Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1974), p. 200.

11. *Ibid.*, pp. 220-230.

12. See *Life*, November 10, 1967.

13. See *Life*, February 9, 1968.

14. *Time*, May 12, 1975.

15. See Robert Ellwood's excellent Book *Religious and Spiritual Groups in Modern America*, (New Jersey : Prentice-hall, 1973).



Bhakti movement, its doctrine and method can be stated simply : Krishna is the supreme personal God and the ultimate object of our desire; the purpose of human life is to transcend the trappings of this material world of māyā and suffering in order to live costantly in ecstasy through a devotional companionship with Krishna; and this supernal bliss can be realized by dancing and chanting the mahāmantra as well as through participation in the ritualistic practices of the society.

Unlike the liberal stance of the Transcendental Meditation Movement, the International Society for Krishna Consciousness is extremely censervative in its interpretation of Hinduism. Swami Bhaktivedanta assures the devotee of bliss only through structured work and strict discipline. Initiation into the sect is performed under the guidance of the Spiritual Master. Once accepted, the devotee has to follow four strict rules : no gambling or gossiping, no intoxicants, no eating of meat, egg or fish, and no illicit sex. Sex is permitted for procreation and having children to be raised in the Krishna Consciousness. The positive rules of conduct to be followed are the chanting of the mahāmantra, reading and talking about Krishna, telling the beads, accepting a bonafide spiritual master, fasting on certain days, pledging to sacrifice everything material for Krishna, and finally shunning the company of non-Krishna devotees.<sup>16</sup> With the exception of homosexuals and drug users, membership is open to anyone who is willing to follow the minimum rules of discipline set by the Society.

Because of its strict discipline and religious orthodoxy, the movement has attracted a moderate following. But full-fledged devotees have received maximum benefit because this movement, in the words of J. Stillson Judah has shown that "alienation, insecurity, and loss of meaning through changing cultural values may be overcome through the shared, routinized experience of religious enthusiasm, and with adherence to a strict discipline in association with others of similar age holding similar cultural values." The movement has been instrumental in imparting a purpose to the alienated,<sup>17</sup> taking some people of drugs, reducing the crime rate among youth, providing them with faith, and an alternative style of life.

While the Krishna kids were busy spreading Krishna Consciousness in some of the major cities and university campuses in the United States, there arrived from India the Bal-Bhagvan ( Child-God ) who described himself as "the incarnation for this generation of the primordial vibrations of the Universe." His followers

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16. At present J. Stillson Judah's *Have Krishna and The Counterculture* (New York : Wiley-Interscience, 1974), is the only book that goes into the discussion of these practices.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 17.



declared him to be the Perfect Master, the embodiment of all past<sup>18</sup> messiahs. The boy messiah was hailed "Lord of the Universe", "King of peace", "Divine incarnation" and "Supreme Boss." The Guru founded the Divine Light Mission whose goal was to provide followers with an immediate experience of light, bliss and peace. The motto of Bal-Bhagvan is : 'Give me your love and I will give you the experience of eternal peace.' He promises to make this experience possible through 'sacred knowledge' imparted<sup>19</sup> in four simple existential steps. In an article in *Newsweek*, the knowledge is described as follows : "In a secret rite—those who describe it to the outsiders risk a degrading demotion in future incarnation—initiates learn to see a dazzling white light, hear celestial music, feel ecstatic vibrations, and taste an internal nectar which, according to Davis, makes 'the old joys' of alcohol, sex, and drugs seem drab'. "The aspirant is given knowledge by a Mahātmā, one who is authorized by the Guru.<sup>20</sup> The teacher carries the initiate through the knowledge ceremony, helping him; see cosmic light by the ritualistic pressing of forehead with thumb and fingers while the eyes remain closed; hear divine harmonies by pressing thumbs in ears and index fingers in eyes and by gradually releazing the pressure on the right ear; taste divine elixir through touching the top of the throat with one's tongue ; and feel ecstatic vibrations through breathing exercises and meditation. This existential experience is called "blissing out."

The mission of Guru Maharaj ji is extremely successful because it "took the many hued survivors of the sixties movements, put them through the spiritual assembly line, and turned them into homogenized premie models." He has attracted a conglomerate of followers : people dischanted from the counter-culture<sup>21</sup> and protest movements of the nineteen sixties, organic food freaks, flower children and alienated youths. His followers believe that the Guru has provided the sceptical non-believing western man with an immediate experience of the divine through the eyes, ears, tongue and body. After the Transcendental Meditation Movement, the Divine Light Mission has the second largest following in the U. S. A.

## Part II

Each race has to make its own result, to fulfil its own mission. Political greatness or military power was never the mission of our race : it never was, and, mark my words, it never will be. But there has been the other mission given to

18. See *New Republic*, November 17, 1973.

19. See *Christianity Today*, September 28, 1973.

20. *Newsweek*, November 19, 1973.

21. *New York Times Magazine*, December 9, 1973.



us, which is to conserve, to preserve, to accumulate, as it were, into a dynamo, all the spiritual energy of the race, and that concentrated energy is to pour forth in a deluge on the world, whenever circumstances are propitious... The Hindu's calm brain must pour out its own quota to give to the sum total of human progress. India's gift to the world is the light spiritual.

Vivekananda's view of the "light spiritual" is summed up in the five beliefs through which he presented his popular version of Hinduism. These are : belief in the authority of the Vedas, the Gitā and the Vedānta; belief in God Ātman and their identity; belief in oneself and one's divinity; belief in renunciation; and belief in self-realization. According to the Swami, India is destined to spread this spiritual light to the nations of the West. The sayings and the actions of Vivekananda are convincing proofs of his being a missionary in fact as well as in spirit.

A quick glance at the basic doctrinal principles of these movements reveals that some features of the Society for Transcendental Meditation and the Divine Light Mission, and most features of the Hare Krishna Movement concur with those of Vivekananda's interpretation of Hinduism. Since the content of Vivekananda's version is already thin, those of the Transcendental Meditation and the Divine Light Movements are even thinner. The question can then be asked as to whether these three movements are missionary in spirit. Before one can answer this question, one needs to respond to the more basic problem of the essential characteristics of a missionary religion. If one can delineate its salient features, one can proceed to prove or disprove the concurrence of the underlying common characteristic of these movements with those of the missionary religion. One of the ways to approach this is to reveal those attributes of Islam or Christianity which distinguish it from the non-missionary religions. The historical triumph of Islam exhibits the following features; a charismatic prophet; absolute acceptance of Koran; belief in one God, principles of equality and freedom; the promise of a paradise to be realized on this earth; the simplicity of doctrine which is more pure and less inconsistent with reason; and the over-bubbling zeal of its proselytes.<sup>22</sup>

Let us see whether some or all of these distinctive features are manifested by the Transcendental Meditation, the Divine Light, and the Hare Krishna movements.

1. Each one of these movements has a charismatic leader, one who regards himself to be a sage, a prophet, or an avatāra. The three leaders did not initiate their respective movements whimsically but each declared that he was appointed by his Guru to carry the light spiritual to the people of the West.

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22. See M. N. Roy' *The Historical Role of Islam*, (Calcutta : Renaissance Publishers, 1958).



2. From their inception, each one of these movements had accepted or the other Hindu scripture. The overwhelming response they received in the West, however, motivated the Transcendental Meditation and the Divine Light Movements to "de-Hinduise" themselves so as to reach a wider audience. Transcendental Meditation which started as a variant of Hinduism, changed its sales pitch by declaring itself to be a scientific technique. The only link with Hinduism admitted by Transcendental Meditation's advertising department, is the Vedic origin of the T. M. technique but its re-discovery in its present form is attributed to the Mahārishi. Similarly, in the beginning, the Divine Light Mission adopted the thoughts of the Gītā, but lately it has incorporated the Bible as well as the works of the Zen masters. Thus, by including works from other religions, it has liberated itself from dependence on any one religious scripture. Though the Hare Krishna movement is based upon the Vedas, the Gītā, and the Śrīmad Bhāgavatam which it takes literally, Swami Bhaktivedanta has imposed his own interpretation on these scriptures through their transcreation. Of these movements, only the Hare Krishna asks absolute acceptance from its devotees of the scriptures; only Guru Maharaj ji requires that his followers regard him the avatāra or messiah; and the Maharishi insists that T. M. is the only method to realize bliss. Each of these asks its devotees to accept absolutely the scripture, the avatāra, or the technique.

3. Each one of them appears to believe in a unitary principle whether it is a Transcendental Being, God Krishna or the Bal-Bhagvan. For, a religion to have missionary appeal, a belief in one God is almost a necessity, as demonstrated by the history of Islam. Another intriguing feature of these movements is their declaration of the principles of equality and freedom. They are open to anybody irrespective of race, color, caste, and creed. Transcendental Meditation and the Divine Light Mission have something for everyone, be they teenagers, intellectuals, businessmen, middle class drop outs or natural food freaks. Once a follower adopts the method of T. M. or accepts Guru Maharaj ji, he is completely free to drop out if the desired results are not obtained.

4. Another attractive feature of a missionary religion is the promise of a paradise to be realized on this earth during one's life time. The doctrine and method to realize this are presented in simplified terms so that they are easily accessible to the common man's understanding. The Transcendental Meditation and the Divine Light movements have capitalized on these features by declaring that bliss is possible for everyone not only in one's life time but within a few years or even months. Guru Maharaj ji offers the direct experience of divinity to anyone without any abstract and logical discourse on God. On the other hand, the Maharishi came close to saying that you are only forty minutes away from bliss.



5. The last important aspect of a missionary religion is the zeal of its proselytes. The followers of each of these movements have demonstrated this characteristic. The Maharishi, Guru Maharajji and Swami Bhaktivedanta ask their disciples to spread their respective movements with true missionary fervour. The Beatles and other show biz people have helped broadcast the message of the Maharishi; similarly, the conversion of Rennie Davis to the Divine Light Mission has been a boon to Guru Maharajji. So far, Swami Bhaktivedanta has depended upon the exotic look, dress, dancing and chanting of the Krishna devotees to carry his message to the streets of large cities and to university campuses. Recently, however the Macmillan Company has offered to publish and sell some of the Swami's works.

The above discussion confirms the missionary zeal of these movements. But there is a problem. The over-enthusiastic followers of these movements especially those of the Transcendental Meditation and the Divine Light Mission have stretched themselves too thin. In order to reach as many people as possible, they have stooped to using television advertising technique declaring that their method is the answer and cure to all ills. Slogans like "Try T. M., you'll like it" "How to succeed spiritually without really try'ng," "Instant bliss without renouncing one's way of life, "and more make one apprehensive of their genuineness."





Dr. Sunilkumar Das

## Rules of Succession to the Ahom Throne

(Continued from previous issue)

In addition to what is said before, the selection of a prince depended much on the relations existed between the chief nobles who, in theory at least, had the right to make selection. History of the Ahoms in Assam provides us with several such instances. Gober (1675 A. D.), the nominee of Deberā Baḍa Baḷuvā proved incompetent for the throne. To this, the *Buḍā Gohāiñ*<sup>24</sup> enquired from the nobles of the country whether there was any efficient candidate in the family of the heavenly king who could assume the sovereign authority. In the early days, the nobles observed, the forefathers of the *Buḍā Gohāiñ* were the persons to select king and if he did not find any one amongst the brothers of the deceased king fit for governing the country, he can bestow the throne upon the eldest of them whom the country would accept gladly. The *Buḍā Gohāiñ* consented to their suggestion citing references to the selection of Shu-dāng-phā by his grandfather which was gladly accepted by the country. The *Buḍā Gohāiñ* then desired to take an oath of fidelity of the nobles in view of the fact that they would approve his action. From what is said it appears that the selection of a prince, in the absence of regular succession, depended on the *Buḍā Gohāiñ* as well as his relations with other ministers of the state.<sup>25</sup> This is further exemplified by the fact that when the *Buḍā Gohāiñ* brought Nāmrupīā Rājā (1675-77 A.D.), a descendant of Shu-hum-moṅg, and asked the nobles to approve the elevation of the prince, they did so as there was, in their opinion, no other prince considered fit for the throne.<sup>26</sup> Once a *Buḍā Gohāiñ*, in order to put an end to the interregnum, brought Chāo-khām-chen, the grandson of Chāo-shu-teṅg and proposed to elevate him to the throne of Assam. He also enquired into the opinions of the ministers who expressed their no objection to the selection of the *Buḍā Gohāiñ*.<sup>27</sup> Thus, the duty of selecting a king from

24. One of the three cabinet ministers (*qāṅgarīyās*), the *Buḍā Gohāiñ* was regarded as a matter of convention, the seniormost member of the cabinet. He was supposed to be the lord over the area extending from the north of the Dikhu river to Sadiyā in the east.

25. *AB*, p. 239.

26. *Ibid.*, p. 241.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 250.



among the qualified members of the existing princely families devolved upon these three nobles.<sup>28</sup> However, when the procedure was constitutional, and the new king was nominated by the three *Gchāiṅs* acting in unison, they never passed over to near relatives of the collateral branches in favour of more distant kinsmen except in cases where the former was admittedly incompetent, or where owing to the deposition of the previous king, it was desirable that his successor should not be too nearly related to him.<sup>29</sup>

But, where one of these ministers obtained such a preponderance and considered himself more powerful than his two colleagues that he was able to favour a prince's enthronement independently and actually did so, the choice often motivated more by his private interest than by the unwritten law of the constitution; and he would usually select someone who, from his character and personal relations, or from the circumstances of his elevation to the throne, might be expected to support him, or to allow to arrogate to himself much of the power and influence in the administration which actually belonged to the kingly office. In the years between 1670 and 1681, a number of princes were elevated to the position of Assam only with the special favour of some ministers. Deberā, the leader of the revolutionary group, was the brain, behind the assassination of Udayādityasiṃha. On the accession of *Saru Gohāiṅ* (younger prince) *alias* Rāmadhvajasimha in 1673, the power and position of Deberā, the ring-leader of the patricidal drama, enhanced to a great extent as the new king was his protege on the throne. Deberā who was instrumental in elevating Rāmadhvaja and was responsible for commotion and blood-shed culminating in the murder of Udayāditya, was seething with discontent due to his humbler position of being simply a *Hūzārika* (an officer of 1,000 *pāiks*) from Dakṣinpāt. Taking advantage of the political turmoil and imbecility of the king, he aspired to be the *Baḷa Baḷuvā*, the chief executive officer of the state. The following were the arguments in justification of his claim. The blood of the slain, observed Deberā, was chasing retribution. Secondly, no cell of protection for himself could be created by him against the vengeance of the enemies; for, he was merely a commander of 1,000 *pāiks*. In the third place, he lost his confidence on Rāmadhvaja; for, he was sure to be moved by the counsel and warnings of his shrewd ministers. Lastly, the government of Rāmadhvaja was weak and unstable. These considerations inspired Deberā to accomplish his ambitious designs. It was also believed by him that he would not be upgraded to the post of the *Baḷa Baḷuvā* through normal procedures. Impatient of achieving his goal, Deberā, launched a worst stroke to the acting *Baḷa Baḷuvā* by accusing him of being a party to a treasonable conspiracy tending to subvert the regime. The

28. *TB*, tr. Bhuyan, Calcutta, 1933, p. xxviii; also his *Anglo-Assamese Relations (AAR)*, Gauhati, 1949, p. 9.

29. *HA*, p. 240; cf. S. K. Bhuyan, *Ahomar Din*, Jerhat, 1918, p. 16.



unfortunate *Baḍa Baḍuvā* was deposed by the king, and the resultant vacancy was subsequently filled up by Deberā.<sup>30</sup> When the illness of Rāmadhvaja took a serious turn, he nominated his nephew Kaliā *Gohāñ* as his heir presumptive.<sup>31</sup> But, Deberā, the famous intriguer and an astute, who was rewarded for his infamous service with the post of the Secretary of the State, superseded the nomination of the dying king by force of arms and set up a prince Shu-huṅ (1675 A. D.) belonging to the Tuṅgkhuṅgīā family<sup>32</sup> settled at Sāmāguri only with the expectation of securing more power and influence in the administration during his rule and with the contention that the elevation of any of the descendants of Udayāditya or Rāmadhvaja, whose dismissal was achieved only through his instrumentality, would certainly seek his destruction rather than well-being. With the accession of the puppet monarch Shu-huṅ, Deberā became all powerful and commenced a veritable reign of terror. He also enunciated a ruthless policy of eliminating all his opponents including a large number of princes and nobles belonging to Ghargāon and Gauhati establishments and also attempted to be independent in regulating the administration at his will without any regard for law and principle.<sup>33</sup> Finally, he adopted a policy of *modus operandi* meaning, when an official visited the court in connection with his duties, Deberā would announce to him that the king was offended with him and, therefore, asked him to renounce his office and retire to his home'. The officer would then be stripped off his paraphernalia and retainers. His two henchmen Ratanpurīā and Dakṣiṇpātīā were instructed to escort the dismissed officer to his house. They would, in their turn, cut off the officer into pieces on the way.<sup>34</sup> The above incidents led Pakhi *Gābharu*, the chief queen of the king, to accuse the latter in disgust of the fact that the royal authority was actually at the hands of the *Baḍa Baḍuvā*.<sup>35</sup> Having learnt the mischief was set on foot, Deberā raised another prince named Gober (1675 A.D.) on the throne.<sup>36</sup> Even in the reign of Gober, the *Baḍa Baḍuvā* became all powerful and practically assumed the sovereign power.<sup>37</sup> He was not also refrained from committing misdeeds which ultimately caused him to be assassinated by the joint action of the nobles.<sup>38</sup> On the death of Deberā, the *Buḍa*

30. *Assam Burañjī* (AB) (SD), ed. S. K. Dutta, DHAS, Gauhati, 1938, p. 34; TB, p. 4; SAB, p. 34.

31. TB, loc. cit.; KB, p. 97.

32. TB, pp. 4f.; AB (SM), p. 108; AB (HB), loc. cit.; SAB, p. 99; KB, loc. cit.

33. AB (SM), p. 107; AB, pp. 236f.; AB (SD), p. 35.

34. AB, p. 238; AB (SM), p. 109.

35. SAB, p. 141; TB, p. 5.

36. PAḡ, p. 152; SAB, p. 99; AB, p. 237; AB (HB), pp. 50f.; ABS, p. 36.

37. AB (SM), loc. cit.; TB, p. 6.

38. SAB, p. 141; AB, pp. 240 f.; TB, loc. cit.; AB (SD), p. 38.



*Gohāiṇ* became all powerful<sup>39</sup> and put to death Gober,<sup>40</sup> the nominee of the deceased *Baḷa Baḷuṇi* and placed Shu-jir-phā *alias* Arjun Dihingīā Rājā (1675-77 A. D.) on the throne instead.<sup>41</sup> However, the difference between the king and the *Buḍa Gohāiṇ* resulted in the assassination of the former.<sup>42</sup> The *Buḍa Gohāiṇ* then raised Shu-doi-phā (1677-79 A. D.) on the throne of Assam.<sup>43</sup> However, the king and the over ambitious *Buḍa Gohāiṇ* suffered death penalties at the hands of Lāluk Solā *Baḷa Phukan*<sup>44</sup> who afterwards became ambitious and powerful too in the reign of Shu-lik-phā (1679-81 A.D.) whom he raised to the throne.<sup>45</sup> It was in his reign, the *Baḷa Phukan* went so far as to seize the throne for himself. Discontented with the title *Baḍa Phukan*, Lāluk became the *Rājmantri* (premier) as he performed the activities of the premier in addition to his normal duties as the commander of Lower Assam forces. He soon attempted to assume the sovereign power for himself. Meanwhile, the envoys sent to the Mughul viceregal headquarters at Dacca returned to Assam with their envoy Govindarām. The *Baḷa Phukan* made an elaborate arrangement to receive the Bengal envoy. A large ground in the neighbourhood of the dock-yard at Śākḃāḍī was prepared. A pavilion was erected where the *Baḍa Phukan* could take his seat as usual of a sovereign. In the pavilion, canopies were hung and lamps were suspended from the borders of the canopies used by the kings on the occasion of the ceremony of receiving foreign ambassadors. The whole place was thronged with elephants, horses and people at large. Lāluk *Baḷa Phukan* dressed himself in the robes and ornaments, and managed to fetch the royal crown used by the late Parvatīā Rājā. He sat on the royal throne under the canopies with the title 'Rājā of Āsām' as endowed on him by the Mughul *subedar* Āzamtārā and thus, he received the Mughul envoy Givindarām at his own residence in Meṭakātali.<sup>46</sup> It was, however, a foregone conclusion to the *de facto* ruler Lāluk that the people of the land would not at all tolerate none on the throne unless he was a prince of royal blood; for, it was an infringement of the rules of propriety. Therefore, his confirmation in the exalted office of the Rājā of Assam by his far off ally the Mughuls, was merely a latent satisfaction to the *Baḷa Phukan* although this desperate enterprise foretold his impending doom. Thus, the installation ceremony of the *Baḷa Phukan* at the dock-yard of Meṭakātali was a serio-comic performance designed simply to gratify his self-aggrandisement and to provide a vain impression of his importance to the Mughul envoy.

39. AB (SM), p. 111; TB, p. 7.

40. AB (SM), p. 110; KB, p. 98; TB, pp. 6 f.; SAB, *loc. cit.*

41. SAB, p. 100; AB (SM), *loc. cit.*; AB, p. 242.

42. See TB, p. 7; AB (SD), p. 45; SAB, pp. 104, 143; AB, p. 249; ABS, p. 36; AB (HB), p. 52.

43. AB, p. 250; ABS, *loc. cit.*; AB (HB) *loc. cit.*; TB, p. 8; SAB, p. 104.

44. See KB, p. 100; ABS, p. 37; BA (HB), *loc. cit.*; AB (SD), p. 51; SAB, p. 109.

45. AB, p. 258; AB (SM), p. 118; TB, p. 12; SAB, pp. 108, 147; ABS, *loc. cit.*; AB (HB), *loc. cit.*; KB, p. 101; AB (SD), p. 50.

46. See KB, *loc. cit.*; AB p. 259; AB (SD), p. 52; TB, p. 13; TAB, p. 109.



Rājeśvarasiṃha died in 1769 A. D. having left three sons Chārusiṃha, the crown-prince, *Māju Gohāiṇ* ( second prince ) and Ratneśvara *Saru Gohāiṇ* ( younger prince ), and a brother named Kālaśiliā *Gohāiṇ*. There was besides Mohonmāla *Gohāiṇ-deo*, an exile in Nāmṛūp, waiting for an opportunity to assert his claims to the Ahom throne. Of the princes, Chārusiṃha had been nominated as the successor and was installed as *Yuvarāja* during the reign of Rājeśvara. Kālaśiliā *Gohāiṇ* who was dark in complexion and, did not possess the presence and dignity of a sovereign for which the Parvatīā *Gosāiṇ* had refused to accept him for initiation into the Śākta faith. Besides, the stigma of illegitimacy was also fastened on the prince. However, Kīrtichandra *Baḷa Baḷuḍa* by his dextrous diplomatic machinations set aside the claims of Chārusiṃha and installed Kālaśiliā *Gohāiṇ* known afterwards as Lakṣmīsiṃha on the throne of Assam in obedience to the death-bed-injunction of Rudrasīṃha.<sup>47</sup>

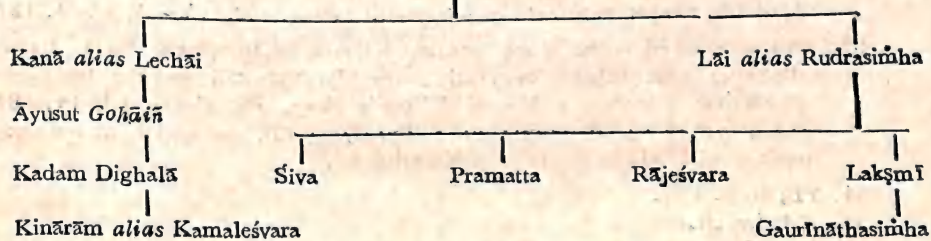
In the reign of Gaurīnāthasiṃha ( 1780-94 A. D. ), Pūrṇānanda *Buḍa Gohāiṇ* became so ambitious that far from being satisfied with the power of acting as a counsellor, he seized the person of the king and also drive away the *Baḍa Baḷuḍa* the great Secretary of the State. In fact, Gaurīnātha turned to be a mere puppet and cypher, and did not long survive the restraint in which he succumbed<sup>48</sup> in August 4, 1795 A. D. The *Buḍa Gohāiṇ* who was beside the dying monarch, concealed the event for three days and the interval was used by him for the selection of the successor, the question of which presented a great difficulty because of the fact that from 1714 to 1795, the throne of Assam was occupied by the sons and grandsons of Rudrasīṃha. Besides, the princes of Rudrasīṃha's line had almost all been mutilated or disqualified by Lakṣmīsiṃha and Gaurīnāthasiṃha. There was Chāring Rājā Kadam Dighalā *Gohāiṇ*, the grandson of Lechāi, the Nāmṛūpiā Rājā and the brother of Rudrasīṃha. Kadam Dighalā had displayed a considerable gallantry in the operations against the Moāmariās. But, he was disqualified laying any claim over the throne being previously deprived of an eye. With the concurrence of the ministers who supported him in fear of losing their lives, Pūrṇānanda placed Dighalā's young son Kinārām on the throne, who subsequently assumed the name Kamaleśvarasiṃha ( 1795-1818 A. D. ).<sup>49</sup> But his selection

47. AAR, pp. 205 f.

48. Hamilton, *Account of Assam* (AA), ed. Bhuyan, Gauhati, 1963, p. 12.

49.

Gadādharaśiṃha (1681-96 A.D.)





became unpopular and went against the laws of the country. In the first place, Lechāi, as pointed out elsewhere, rebelled against his brother Rudrasimha and was in consequence blinded and exiled in Nāmṛūp. According to the custom of the country, the descendants of a revolutionary was permanently debarred from elevation to the throne. Secondly, to this disqualification was added the supposed illegitimacy of Āyasut Gohāiṇ, the father of Dighalā.<sup>50</sup> In the third place, the unpopularity of his accession was, according to Hamilton, due to his and his father's being the disciples of the Śūdra Gosāiṇ of Salaguri whereas five monarchs preceding Kamaleśvara, had Brāhmaṇas as their spiritual preceptors.<sup>51</sup> Although the ministers concurred on the elevation of Kamaleśvara, it gave rise to a supposition in many quarters that the premier, in selecting Kamaleśvara was actuated by a desire to perpetuate his own authority on the person of the king as he did in the reign of Gaurināthasimha. It was a foregone conclusion to the Buḍā Gohāiṇ that Kamaleśvara, owing to his defective title as well as tender age, would have always to depend upon the support of the premier who was in full possession of power and was still in the vigour of understanding.<sup>52</sup> The plan of Pūrṇānanda succeeded to a nicety and he became all powerful.<sup>53</sup> Even the period was known to the people as 'the days of Pūrṇānanda'.<sup>54</sup> In the above circumstances, it was not impossible for the premier to win over other ministers to his side by means of threat or persuasion. Hamilton is of the opinion that the Buḍā Gohāiṇ could not procure a descendant of Rudrasimha. He, therefore, elevated a prince whose claim over the throne was doubtful, and who was always favourable to his views.<sup>55</sup> It is also interesting to note that the premier did not venture to postpone the coronation of Kamaleśvara as he belonged to an illegitimate off-spring and as his title was defective.<sup>56</sup>

50. Similar doubt is expressed by Hamilton (*AA*, pp. 7, 12) according to whom Kanā had a son by concubine. Kamaleśvara is supposed to be a descendant of the illegitimate off-spring.

51. R. M. Martin, *The History, Antiquities, Topography and Statistics of Eastern India*, Vol. III, London, 1838, p. 608.

52. *APB*, loc. cit.; *AA*, loc. cit.; cf. *AAR*, loc. cit. David Scott who very carefully examined the relative claims of the Ahom princes admitted that in view of the absence of any eligible candidates, 'the Buragohain did not perhaps exceed the powers vested in his predecessors when he appointed Kamaleśvara to royal dignity' (see Scott to Swinton, April 15, *Bengal Political Consultations* (*Beng. Pol. Cons.*), July 4, 1826, No. 2).

53. This is indicated by the death penalty inflicted on Bhāskara Bada Bādṛwā who is alleged to have behaved inimically to the Buḍā Gohāiṇ and the late sovereign Gaurināthasimha (see Scott's Historical Note in *Beng. Pol. Cons.*, July 14, 1826, No. 2; *DAA*, p. 175). According to a *Burañjī* (*TB*, p. 135) he was executed as a result of trial held in the reign of Kamaleśvara.

54. *TB*, tr. p. 197.

55. *AA*, loc. cit.

56. *Loc. cit.*



In this connection it deserves mention that the selection of a prince by the nobles for the throne of Assam in presence of the reigning monarch was, according to the custom of the country, considered as a treasonable offence and a high crime of misdemeanour. The unpopular and incompetent rule of Larā Rājā led the nobles to deliberate on the dismissal of the weakling and the placement of a strong ruler. The nobles selected Gadāpāni to be the ruler of Assam. As the elevation of a prince to the throne of Assam in presence of the reigning king was a crime of high order, the ministers determined to place Gadāpāni first as the Rājā of Chāring and subsequently as the Rājā of Assam after the dethronement of Larā Rājā.<sup>57</sup>

Whatever might have been the policy of selecting a prince for the throne, he was not legally considered as a full-fledged sovereign unless his elevation to the royal authority was approved by the three *Gohāiṇs* of the state. We have elsewhere pointed out that Shū-khām-phā nominated his son Lāngi *Gohāiṇ* alias Prātāpasimha for the throne. Immediately after the death of Shū-khām-phā, the nobles of the state summoned a council to deliberate on the issue involved, where they unanimously approved the late King's nomination of Lāngi *Gohāiṇ* as his heir-apparent.<sup>58</sup> When Jayadhvajasingha was in his death-bed, he nominated the Chāring Rājā as his successor. The father-in-law of the king made an endeavour through the queens of the dying king to elevate the latter's adopted son. But, the proposal was rejected by the king as he was non-royal in origin. Further, he pointed out that the selection of the king was not considered as final. It becomes absolute only with the concurrence of the three *Gohāiṇs*.<sup>59</sup> Again on the death of Śivasimha, the Tipām Rājā the attention is directed to the fact that the petty officers who aided him in the insurrection were unauthorised to appoint a monarch which became absolute only on the concurrence of the three *Gohāiṇs* of the state. The Tipām Rājā was, however, disbanded by the two *Gohāiṇs* who took the Chāring Rājā, the brother of the deceased king, to the principal court chamber and declared him king. The *Buḷā Gohāiṇ* then led the new king to the elevated platform and announced that the brother of the late king had become king. All the subjects including the *Baḍuās* and *Phukans* were asked to offer their homage and kneel-down before him and his announcement received well response from all quarters.<sup>60</sup>

The formal elevation of a prince to the throne does not become full-fledged unless he performed some rituals relating to formal selection. Normally, succession

57. *AB (SM)*, p. 121.

58. *Ibid.*, p. 36; (*PAB*), p. 65,

59. *AB (SM)*, p. 86.

60. *TB*, pp. 40f.; *SAB*, pp. 129.



was determined during the life time of the reigning king and it was announced immediately after his death. When the succession was not previously fixed, the announcement of a reigning king's death was postponed till the selection of the new king.<sup>61</sup> The succession to the throne was solemnised by the *Gchāṭis* and principal officers offering prostrations to the new king. In the first place the king-designate prince had to ascend the *Heṅ-lāṅ* which was possibly a raised four-square platform having four stands made of bamboo and was made probably in imitation of the royal throne. The prince was then made to take his seat on the *Heṅ-lāṅ* which was covered by a piece of cloth. The death-bed injunction of the late king selecting him as his successor and relegating his kingly power to him was recited for his attention. Therefore, he was required to pay homage to his predecessors. It was the custom of the country to recite the mandate of the late king by the *Baḍa Baḍuvā*.<sup>62</sup> It is also interesting to note that at the commencement of the reign of Kamaleśvarasinha, there was no *Baḍa Baḍuvā*. Bhāṣkaṭiā *Baḍa Baḍuvā* of the Lāhan family who served in the reign of Gaurināthasinha, the predecessor of Kamaleśvara, was put to death by Pūrṇānanda *Buḍa Gohāṭi*. In the absence of the *Baḍa Baḍuvā*, the mandate was, in contravention of the custom of the country, recited by Śivanāth *Tāmuli Phukan*, and consequently, the coronation ceremony of Kamaleśvara was kept in abeyance rendering his enthronement incomplete.<sup>63</sup> In addition to the observances of the primary rituals connected with the elevation of a prince, the coronation known as *Śingari-ghara-uphā* ceremony which entailed elaborate and expensive arrangement, was performed a few months later.



61. The author's paper on the 'Disposal of the dead among the Ahoms' in *Quarterly Review of Historical Studies*, Vol. XII, No. 2, pp. 111-16.

62. *APB*, p. 116 *ABS*, p. 51; *AB(HB)*, p. 82.

63. pp. 115 f.; *ABS*, *loc. cit.*; *AB(HB)*, *loc. cit.*



## Ananda Coomaraswamy : The Universal Man

*[ In August next year India will be celebrating the birth centenary of Ananda K. Coomaraswamy who brought about the cultural and spiritual renaissance of India in a manner which still remains unsurpassed. His writings cover art, metaphysics, religion, mysticism, dance and culture. Contrary to the modern preference for fine art, Coomaraswamy rightly, interprets ancient art as useful art; and this offers a new perspective altogether. The life of this great art historian, indologist and orientalist was given to interpreting the East to the West, and often the West to itself. Coomaraswamy's message is particularly appropriate now when many in the West feel that our culture has reached a dead end, and are casting about for a new ideal that can replace that of the Faustian man. This article from the pen of one who has studied Coomaraswamy deeply since a long time, is the introductory chapter of the biography of Coomaraswamy which Sri Bagchee is now writing and which is expected to come out next year on the occasion of Coomaraswamy's birth centenary—Ed. ]*

### I

It is really unfortunate that Ananda Kentish Coomaraswamy ( 1877-1947 ) is still little known to educated Indians. Now-a-days his books are not so widely read as in the past and the universal philosophy of his life and work are seldom taught in our university classes nor it is discussed at any cultural gathering. Yet the fact remains that though not an Indian by birth, Coomaraswamy has done so much for India as no other Indian has ever done. If today our ancient art has gained recognition in the West and if today India is recognised as a first-class artistic power, it is due in no small measure to the Herculean efforts of this man, who had an almost unmatched understanding of Indian culture, language, religion and philosophy and combined this rich background with considerable expository skill. Here was man of vast erudition who might be called as God's rainbow-coloured creation the like of which is seldom found in the history of mankind.



Coomaraswamy has rightly been called a colossus who bestrode the scene of Indian art and culture for more than forty years and brought back to it the lost glories and vanished pride. To be more precise, it was he who synthesised faith and reason to become one of the greatest exponents and interpreters of the spirit of Asia. Again, it was he who rendered valuable services to the East-West understanding through the medium of art. Speaking of the versatile genius of Coomaraswamy, Eric Gill has rightly observed : "Seldom has one man done so much, in so many different ways, for his own people and for mankind...No other living writer has written the truth in matter of art and life and religion and piety with such wisdom and understanding."

Ananda K. Coomaraswamy was born on August 22, 1877, in Colombo, Ceylon, the son of a distinguished Sinhalese gentleman, Sir Mutu Coomaraswamy, the first Hindu to have been called to the bar in London, and author of the first translation into English of a Pali Buddhist text. Sir Mutu died before his son was two years old and the child was brought up in England by his British mother ( who survived until 1942 ). Ananda K. Coomaraswamy did not return to his native land until nearly a quarter of a century later. He was educated first at Wycliffe College at Stonehouse in Gloucestershire, and later at the University of London. Although, without doubt, the Sinhalese youth felt the all pervading influences of John Ruskin and William Morris in the awakening nineties, his deeper interest were focussed upon science, in particular upon geology and mineralogy. At twenty-two he contributed a paper on "Ceylon Rocks and Graphite" to the Quarterly Journal of the Geological Society ; and at twenty-five he was appointed director of the Mineralogical Survey of Ceylon. A few years later his work on the geology of Ceylon won him the degree of Doctor of Science from the University of London. His early training in botany and geology and his career in Ceylon must have laid the firm foundations of a catholic mind which was to flower later in aesthetics and philosophy.

Life in Ceylon opened his eyes to the withering blight cast upon her native arts and crafts by the invasion of occidental industrialism. Courageously and unequivocally the young Ananda became the champion of those native cultures and handicrafts which were threatened with extermination by the proselytizing fury of occidental civilization. After three years of service in the Ceylon government, Coomaraswamy decided to dedicate himself to the study of art. He came to India and travelled throughout the subcontinent as a lone pilgrim in search of her heritage for about ten years. His unerring eye discovered many gems of Indian art, from which he built a vast and priceless collection. Coomaraswamy never wanted to leave India. It was his wish that if government or some public organisation built a museum in Varanasi ( Banaras ), he would donate his entire collection to it and devote the rest of his life to research. Unfortunately, neither the alien



government nor the public showed any interest and so he left for America in 1951. In the following year, he was appointed a research fellow of the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston, which also purchased his large art collection. Subsequently he became the Keeper of its department of Indian, Persian and Mahomedan Art which he made into a sanctuary of some of the masterpieces of Asian paintings, sculptures, ceramics, jewellery, etc. Even in the closing years of his life, this great savant expressed his desire to return to India and settle somewhere below the Himalayas. But this was not to be. He passed away towards the end of 1947.

Such is the brief biographical outline of Coomaraswamy's crowded career. But it is the mind—the all-encompassing mind of Coomaraswamy and not the biographical details that really matters. In the unfolding of this myriad-minded intellect—from geology to archaeology and thence to all the arts and expressions, from the humblest to the highest aspirations of all mankind—one is tempted to find a parallel to Leonardo's universal interests. Beginning with geology and mineralogy, Coomaraswamy's researches became universal and all-embracing, ranging from philology in a dozen languages to music and iconography, and from the most ancient metaphysics to the most contemporary problems in politics, sociology and anthropology. As an admirer once stated: "Never had he had time for, nor interests in, presenting personal ideas or novel theories, so constantly and so tirelessly had he devoted his energies to the rediscovery of the truth and the relating of the principles by which cultures rise and fall." Nor did he ever compromise or pull his punches in stating these truths as he had discovered them.

This courage was especially manifest in Coomaraswamy's essays devoted to art. He was our most eloquent defender of the traditional philosophy of oriental art. This philosophy he interpreted many times and with a wealth of explicit reference. For Coomaraswamy, as spokesman of traditions, 'disinterested aesthetic contemplation' was a contradiction in terms, and nonsense. The purpose of art has always been and still should be, effective communication. But what, ask the critics, can works of art communicate? "Let us tell the painful truth", Coomaraswamy retorts, "that most of these works are about God, whom now-a-days we never mention in polite society?"

Coomaraswamy was a unique fusion of art-historian, philosopher, orientalist, linguist and expositor. His knowledge of arts and handicrafts of the oriental world was unexcelled, and his many monographs on aspects of oriental art either established or revolutionized entire fields of art. He was also one of the greatest orientalist of all time, with an almost unmatched understanding of all facets of traditional culture. He covered the philosophic and religious experience of the entire pre-modern world, both Eastern and Western, and for him primitive, medieval European, Indian, classical experience of truth and art were only slightly different



dialects in a common universal language. In short, Coomaraswamy was more than an art-critic or art historian, he interpreted the *philosophia perennis* through the medium of the arts and this is where his eminence lies. In this connection we are at once reminded of one of his famous utterances : "Nations are created by poets and artists, not by merchants and politicians. In art lie the deepest life principles ?"

## II

When the West-and indeed the East-was still indifferent to the beauties and glories of Indian art, and critics and scholars such as Ruskin and Birdwood refused to recognise the aesthetic merits as well as the deeper message of our art, Coomaraswamy along with Havell, redressed the balance and opened our eyes to the aesthetic legacies that we had unknowingly inherited. In 1926, he published the HISTORY OF INDIAN AND INDONESIAN ART. This book on the art of South Asia is yet to be surpassed and students of Indian art must remain indebted to this work which Kosambi hailed as 'magnificent'. At a time when the superiority of Western culture and the Grecian concepts of beauty and aesthetics held the field, it was left to Coomaraswamy to espouse the cause of Indian art and declare it equal to the best in the world. Similarly his work on Rajput painting has opened a new chapter of Indian art history, i. e. that of living Hindu art s bsequent to the Muslim conquest. His Judgement of quality was infallible. Thus he not only gave an immense impulse to the modern rebirth of Indian art, but contributed also to the reorientation of Western art in the early decades of this century.

His whole life, so to say, was given up to the studying and re-establishing of the religious and spiritual base of Indian cultural nationalism as well as the high traditional art of India and interpreting them to an increasingly wider audience. To him Indian and European art were basically different. The sculpture and architecture of this country, particularly its image, were not meant for aesthetic experience but for edification. We have yet to fully realise how deeply Coomaraswamy entered into the spirit of Indian art and life. It is perhaps right to suggest that the consciousness of India flowed in his blood stream, determining his aesthetic response as an art historian. He could sum up the historical as well as cultural importance of India in this memorable line :

"Go to Ajanta, Ellora or Mahabalipuram, or visit the ruins of Nalanda, Rajagriha or Konark, you can see the past of India before your eyes and in the murmur of the waters of the Ganges at Banaras and Hardwar, you can hear the voices of the ages gone by." Thus in him the Indian consciousness was concerned exclusively with art, religion and culture. It is this sensitive yet perfectly



historical perception of aesthetic values which inspired Coomaraswamy to harmonise tradition and modernity into a cultural process of sustained achievement.

There is yet another image of Coomaraswamy which is seldom taken into account. Amidst the turbulent upsurge of the national freedom movement, Coomaraswamy, then a young man in his early thirties, came in contact with the then leading personalities in India including the Tagores and others. It was at that time that he sat with Sister Nivedita and wrote his *ESSAYS IN NATIONAL IDEALISM*. It was for him, like Nivedita, to read the deeper meaning of the struggle which was on the surface political, but at the depth below the effervescence of the political movement and ideological cross currents was the calm philosophical reality of the soul of a great and ancient nation. He felt this Reality of the Soul of India and all that it achieved and realised in the past. He felt it in his blood in his existence, in all his efforts and activities. It was something like touching the Eternity. This contact with the soul of India enabled him to locate the genesis of the National Political Movement not mooted in any particular programme of any particular party, but in the natural process of evolutionary expression of a nation. In the challenging of the prevailing political bondage, the continued deprivation from realisation of its own heritage to which the nation was subjected to for more than seven hundred years, Coomaraswamy saw the first sure proof that a nation was remaking itself, that its people's aspiration for freedom from bondage of alien political domination, from illiteracy, from superstition, from all taboos, was beginning to crystallise. It was in this perspective that he raised the voice of warning: "The greatest danger for India is the loss of her spiritual integrity. Striving after a political integrity without giving importance to spiritual integrity is a pathetic endeavour."

To the last day of his life, Coomaraswamy thought of India and this found a sincere expression in his striking address which he delivered on Independence Day in 1947: "Our problem is not so much one of rebirth of an Indian culture as it is one of preserving what remains of it... Freedom is the opportunity to act in accordance with one's own nature. But our leaders are already denatured—Indian in blood and colour, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect. They have no more the moral to 'be themselves' without which they can be of little use to themselves or anyone else."

This was Coomaraswamy's swan song and this might also be regarded as his parting message to Indians whom he loved and served. Let us not forget that one of the very few Indians who can be classed with the foremost intellectual aristocrats of the world of all ages, Coomaraswamy's love and regard for the heritage of India were unbounded and his life-history will remain for ever as an example of a dedicated soul diffused with emotion, imagination and scientific reasoning.



To sum up Ananda K. Coomaraswamy's qualities as an expounder of the traditional teaching under its many forms would require more than just a few pages. He was a master of analysis, and he could always be trusted to beat the moderns at their own game. He was a master of synthesis, and one who never lost sight of the wood for the trees. He had the gift of tongues in more senses than one; literally, since his accurate knowledge of languages classical or spoken was prodigious, and metaphysically, in that he could make use of the language of all the traditions of the world, past or present, at will, resorting to this one for the purpose of illustration that, so that at one moment it seemed to be a Christian voice that was speaking, at another a Platonic voice, then again a Hindu or a Buddhist one, then it might be a voice belonging to a Sufi or a Redskin: The Scripture has said "all peoples and languages shall praise the Lord;" Coomaraswamy was the living exponent of this doctrine. He was really a universal man in the accepted sense of the term.





## Village autonomy and its nature in the Śukranītisāra

Attempts have been made at all stages of human civilization to adapt law to the needs and requirements of the society.<sup>1</sup> Law and order are the distinguishing features of a civilized society. These are, to a large extent, due to the administration which a political body exercises. Hindu thinkers entertained a peculiar conception of a primeval society, sustained and ordered by the natural law, without any political interference.<sup>2</sup> The *Mahābhārata* (MBh.) reveals the prevalence of such a natural law and order in the hoary past which was replaced by that of an age of turbulence and anarchy due to the result of the moral bankruptcy and social deterioration<sup>3</sup> and it was under these fissiparous tendencies that the need for an active administration under the command of a political superior was keenly felt and an institution was evolved in order to secure peace, order and security in the society, on the one hand, and rejuvenate the society from moral degeneration, on the other. Historically also, the complexity decreases as we go backwards in time, but even in those stages some form of administration was not unknown. Since we know of society, villages if the law of evolution is true, would have succeeded in trivial uncertainty of the human settlements and would have thus formed the nucleus round which the civilisation duly sustained by the political non-intervention flourished in the past.<sup>4</sup> Later on even after the growth of cities, evidence on record<sup>5</sup> shows that

1. For a discussion on this topic, see, H. Spencer, *The Principles of sociology*, I, Sections 224-33.

2. For instance, cf. *Mahābhārata* (MBh.) *Śānti Parvan* 58. 14.

न वै राज्यं न राजासीत् नैव दण्डो न दाण्डिकः ।

धर्मेण च प्रजाः सर्वा रक्षन्ति स्म परस्परम् ॥

3. *Ibid.*, 59; 67—See also *Manu Smṛti*. 311, 318.

4. Mookerji, R. K.—*Local Government in Ancient India*, pp. 3-4.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 14-20; Altekar, A. S.—*Prācīna Bhāratiya Śāsana Paddhati*, pp. 173-174; For one of the best bibliographies on the subject see also—Patil, D. R.—*The Cultural History of Vāyu Purāṇa*, Deccan College Dissertation Series, Poona, 1946, pp. 9-13; also see Altekar, A. S.—*Village Communities in Ancient India*; Powell, Boldin—*Village Communities*; Ghoshal, U. N.—*Hindu Public Life*; Dikshitar, V. R.—*Hindu Administrative Institutions*, pp. 314-364; Altekar, A. S.—*State and Government in Ancient India*, pp. 225 ff.; Malaviya, H. D.—*Village Panchayats in India*, 1956, pp. 3-91.



the village administration did not stand neglected although it remained simple as compared to that of cities. One of *Jātaka* texts<sup>6</sup> refers to the greatness of the kingdom which was represented by the number of villages it included. Even as late<sup>7</sup> a work as the *Śukranītisāra*, which unfortunately some scholars<sup>8</sup> are inclined to prove as a 19th century forgery, could not neglect village administrator—nay even the Britishers<sup>9</sup> of the 20th century had to acknowledge the autonomy and jurisdiction of the village council and had to carve their administrative designs in their accordance. No doubt Dutta<sup>10</sup> has rightly remarked that “the institution of village administration was developed earlier and preserved longest among all the countries of the earth.” It can be observed however, that the villages were thus not the only mere units at the disposal of the sovereign authority but from the times immemorial they have been the axle of administration.

The testimony of *Śukranītisāra* enlightens us in a very magnificent manner about the manifold aspects of the village administration which enjoyed much autonomy and non-interference of the state and which were widely prevalent during the

6. *Jātaka*, III. pp. 365-367, G. 76 “.....Grāmasahassam paripunnāni Solasa;

*Ibid.*, V. pp. 258, G. 41, “Satthi gāmasahassāni paripunnāni Sabbasa.”

The figures 16,000 and 60,000 though appears to be an exaggerated account of the numbers of villages in a kingdom, but the possibility of such high numbers can not be entirely ruled out. Pran Nath holds that, “Videha may certainly have contained 16,000 villages provided Village may be taken in the sense of a survey village or a state.” See, Pran Nath—Economic Condition, p. 51.

7. The exact date of *Śukranītisāra* has been one of the tentatizing riddles in Ancient Indian history and hence obviously raised much controversies among the scholars.

To Gustov Oppert and Sircar, it is a 4th century work. To Jaiswal the work assumed its final shape in the 8th centuries. To Saleore, it is a 14th century work. To Ghoshal its date ranges between 1200 A.D. to 1600 A.D. while to Altekar it ranges between 1100 A.D. to 1400 A.D. Pandit J. L. Nehru ascribed it to be a 10th century work.

See Gustov Oppert—*Śukranītisāra*, Madras, 1882, p. 8; Sircar, B. K.—Positive Background of the Hindu Sociology, Book II, Pt. I, pp. 63-71; Jaiswal, K P.—Hindu Polity; Saleore—Social and Political life in Vijayanagar, p. 430. The reference of fire arms and gunpowder in the treatise reminds of the Vijayanagar army which shows that it was a 14th century work. E. C. VII, sa. 68, 433; Altekar, A.S.—State and Government in Ancient India, p. 20.

8. Dr. L. Gopal holds that the treatise is a 19th century forgery. see Bulletin of the Oriental and African Studies, London; XXVI, Pt. III, Oct 25th, 1962, p. 556.

9. Mathai, John—Village Government in British India, London, 1915.

10. Dutta, R. C.—The Economic History of India, quoted in the Report of the Congress Panchayat Committee—All India Committee, New Delhi, 1959, p. 9;



8th century A. D. ( i. e. the accepted date of the work ). Altekar<sup>11</sup> has rightly observed that, "Like other works of the class, it (*Śukranītisāra* ) does not occupy itself with theoretical discussion and comprehensive practice of administrative machinery than is given by any other work of the post-Kauṭilya epoch." But as a matter of fact it is a practical treatise on the ancient Indian state-craft broadly modelled on the similar lines of the Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra.

In focussing light over the various aspects of the autonomous nature of the village administration, *Śukranītisāra* states at the outset that for the sake of conveniently governing the larger kingdom, the king, the fountain-head of administration, preferred to divide the kingdom into different administrative units governed by as many as eight departments,<sup>12</sup> chiefly due to the reason that he knew well that a single man could not conduct the whole administration smoothly, just as one wheel cannot drive a car.<sup>13</sup> It is further held that the king's duty was to keep a vigilant eye over the day-to-day administration of the people of the villages and to find out the extent to which they are benefitted by the work of the state employees, and also to learn of those people who are oppressed by the officials.<sup>14</sup>

Village or the *Grāma*<sup>15</sup> formed the lowest administrative unit. Now let us see what a village is. A village is reckoned by Kauṭilya as consisting of 100 to 500 families.<sup>16</sup> *Śukranītisāra*<sup>17</sup> refers to the house of various measurements according to the social gradation and numbers of the family members which were provided for all the classes of the society residing both in the towns and the villages. The treatise further refers to three types of villages varying in territorial limits i. e. *Kumbha*,<sup>18</sup> *Palli*,<sup>19</sup> and *Grāma*.<sup>20</sup> *Palli* was half of the size of *Grāma*,<sup>21</sup> while

11. Altekar, A. S.—State and Government in Ancient India, p. 18.
12. See *Śukranītisāra* II, 17—also Ch. II. 11. 143-44, p. 68. (Sircar).
13. "अष्टप्रकृतियुक्तो नृपः कश्चित्स्मृता सदा । समन्त्रः पण्डितो मन्त्री प्रधानसचिवस्तथा । अमात्यः प्राङ् विवाकश्च तथा प्रतिनिधिः नमतः" *Śukra. II. 71*—Yājñavalkya refers to the 7 limbs of kingdom, placing the king as the Head of Administration—see Yāj., *Sam.* Verse 353, p. 57.
14. ग्रामान्पुराणि देशांश्च स्वयं संवीक्ष्य वत्सरे । अधिकारिण्यैः काश्चरजितः काश्चकर्षिता" *Śukra I. 373*, For the protection of the subjects see Nārada XVIII. II. 33, p. 218 and Gautama Samhitā, Ch. XI, p. 683.
15. *Śukranītisāra* I. II. 385-86—p. 25 (Sircar) also Fleet's Record of the *Somavamsi* kings of Katak, "pigraphia Indica, Vol. III (60), p. 256; Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra, Bk. II, Ch. I, p. 46 etc.
16. Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra, Bk. II, Section I.
17. *Śukranītisāra*—V. 5. 87-89;
18. *IBID.* I. 193.
19. *IBID.* I. 192-93 ; In the Jain texts the word Gramapath occurs, see Hindu Civilization—Radha Kumud Mookerji, 1950, pp. 299-301.
20. *IBID.* I. 193. also Fleet, op. cit, (60), p. 256; *Kauṭilya*, Bk. II, Ch. I, pp. 46 etc.—Vālmiki refers to the two types of villages ग्राम and घोष see Ayodhyā Kāṇḍa Śloka 15, sarga 83;



*Kumbha* was half of the size of *Palli* or  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the size of *Grāma*. Thus, *Grāma* formed a definite largest territorial jurisdiction whose area extended to one *krośa*,<sup>22</sup> all around it. The treatise further enjoins that the villages were required to pay 1,000 *karṣas* ( a silver coin ) to the state as their dues.<sup>23</sup> *Śukra* has laid much emphasis on the systematic planning of these *Grāmas*. It refers to the different *mārgas*, roads and streets, i. e. *padya*, *plthi*, *Mārga* and *Rāja Mārga*.<sup>24</sup> The width of the streets ranges between 3, 5, 10, or 15 cubits. As regards the traditional territorial division of the rural areas, the treatise refers to the number of 10 *Grāmas*, 100 *Grāmas*, 1,000 *Grāmas* and 10,000 *Grāmas*, which were comprised of various groups.<sup>25</sup>

The glowing testimony of *Śukranītisāra* further informs about different marked features of the ancient Hindu village administration. These features were the developed sense of Hygiene and sanitation, the systematic defence system, the developed agricultural, and the progressive commercial activities in the state. The village-house architectural planning was a part of the village administrative system. For this, *Śukra* directed<sup>26</sup> that village-houses should be constructed in one row on the two sides of the village path, having the width of 10 *hasta* for ( i. e. about 100 ft. ) and which should be higher at the centre like the back of a tortoise, so that the accumulated rain-water may easily flow off through water drains ( *nālīs* ).

As regards the villages well-fortified defence planning, the *Śukranītisāra* refers<sup>27</sup> to a boundary wall and several gateways for the entrance in the village on the Eastern and the Northern side. The Boundary wall, as the treatise mentions, should be of a fair height so that robbers and enemies may not cross over them easily.<sup>28</sup> Walls should have their foundation to the extent of  $\frac{1}{2}$  or  $\frac{1}{3}$  of their

21. पल्ल्यर्धं कुभसंज्ञकम् । ग्रामार्धकं पल्लिसंज्ञं' *Śukra*. I. 192.

22. In modern terminology the *Krośa* is called *Kos* which apparently suggests something more than the 2 miles in the *kos* of today.

23. भवेत्कोशात्मको ग्रामो रूप्यकर्षसहस्रकः' *Śukra*. I. 92.

24. *Śukranītisāra* I. 251. ff.

25. *IBID.* I. 192 ff; see *Manu* VII. 115-120 see *Viṣṇu*, Ch. III 4-6 which states that 10 villages formed as one of the units amidst other administrative units. *Mbh.* XII. 87.3 ff. refers to the groups of 20 and 30 villages. Epigraphic evidence suggests that during the 8th and the 9th centuries there were divisions of *vavullāla* and *Ruidhha* consisting of 10 villages, *Sihāri* and *Sārak achchha* of 12 villages and *Sebli* of 30 villages in the District of *Paithan* (in *Bombay State*). See *Altekar*, A. S. *Rashtrakulas and their times*, p. 138;

26. पंक्तिद्वयगतानां हि गेहानां कारयेत् ॥ दशहस्तात्मकं नित्यं ग्रामे ग्रामे नियोजयेत् । कूर्मपृष्ठमार्गभूमिः कार्याः ग्राम्यैः सुसेतुका । कुर्यान्मार्गान्पार्श्वखातान्निगयार्थं जलस्य च । —*Śukra* I 264-65; I. 267.

27. *Śukra* I. 474-76.

28. *IBID.*



Śukranītisāra eloquently refers to a well-organized body of officials with their well-defined duties for conducting the administrative machinery of the villages systematically and smoothly. It refers<sup>38</sup> to as many as four most responsible officials such as—

- (1) SĀHASĀDHIPATI (Magistrate or the Judge)
- (2) GRĀMANETĀ (also called GRĀMAPA : probably the Headman or the President of the village)
- (3) BHĀGAHĀRA (Revenue collector)
- (4) LEKHAKA (clerk who used to maintain records.)

Among the other two minor officials, mention can be made of

- (5) Śulka-Grāhaka (Dole collector) and
- (6) PRATIHĀRA (sentinel).

Altekar<sup>39</sup> holds that these officials are also referred to in the *Smṛtis* and in the Inscriptions as well. He opines that it seems that they may have flourished in big villages. It appears that their services were highly remunerative.

Let us examine the duties of each responsible village official as gleaned from the Śukranītisāra, an indispensable treatise on ancient state-craft.

**SĀHASĀDHIPATI :** He was responsible for the judicial functions in the village administration. He used to settle the village disputes of every nature and punish the offenders. He resembles our modern District Magistrate. By virtue of his powers to punish (दण्ड) he has been also called as **DANḌAVIDHĀYAKA**<sup>40</sup>. In Śukranītisāra he was required to punish the offenders as not to leave any perverse effect on the Prajā (to punish in a manner so as not to destroy the Prajā; neither to be lenient, nor to be too harsh)

**GRĀMANETĀ OR GRĀMAPA :** It seems that the officials like Grāmanetā or Grāmapa, are the two different names of a single official. His chief duties were two-fold in nature—

38. Bāṇa in his *Harṣa Carita*, pp. 255 refers to administration of the villages through the पंचकुल (Pañcakula) i.e., the representatives of the five families of the localities or "it may be the variation of the technical term पंचमंडली (Pañca maṇḍalī)" see Saleore's—*Life in Gupta Age*, p. 303; The Sanchi Stone Inscription of Chandragupta II refers to the village administration governed by the पंचमंडली—see Fleet, op. cit., (5) p. 31. *Śukranītisāra* states II. 120—"साहसाधिपति चैव ग्रामनेतारमेव च।

भागहारं तृतीयं तु लेखकं च चतुर्थकम्।"

For Lekhaka—also see Kauṭilya *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. IV, Ch. IX, p. 222.

39. Altekar, A. S.—*State and Government in Ancient India*, p. 228.

40. प्रजान्धनहि भवेत्तथा दण्ड विधायकः। नाति क्रूरो नाति मृदुः साहसाधिपतिश्च सः

*Śukranītisāra* II. 169-70.



( a ) Firstly, to protect the village from thieves and robbers and to serve the Prajā in the same manner as the father and mother protect their children.<sup>41</sup>

( b ) Secondly, to collect the revenue of the state and get it deposited safely at the house of a responsible and well-to-do man of the village.<sup>42</sup> The Śukranītisāra warns that the tax-collectors should be like the gardeners who pluck only fruits and flowers of the plant, thus leaving their Productive capacity altogether unimpaired.<sup>43</sup>

As regards the qualification of the Grāmanetā, Śukra mentions that being the head of the village he was invariably a member of the Brāhmaṇa community.<sup>44</sup> The inscriptional evidences also testify to the office of the village headman which was hereditary in nature.<sup>45</sup> It is necessary here to clarify the conception of the village-headman in the light of other evidences. Śukranītisāra refers to the village headman with the name of Grāmapa or Grāmanetā.<sup>46</sup> While other literary sources<sup>47</sup> refer to another name of Grāmanī, the epigraphic sources also corroborated these facts by referring to them as early as in the first millennium of the Christian era.<sup>48</sup> His chief duty was to maintain the proper defence of the village with the

41. आर्षर्षकेभ्यश्चैरिभ्यो हताधिकारिगणान्तथा । प्रजा संरक्षयेदक्षो ग्रामपो मातृ पितृ वत् ॥

Śukranītisāra II. 170-71. *IBID.* II. 343;

The Gahadavala rulers are often seen consulting the village headmen (i. e. ग्रामनेता) in the realm of village administration. See *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. II, p. 395-61.

42. "नियम्याग्राम भूभागमेकस्माद्वनिकाद्वरेत्", Śukra. IV. 235 :

43. *IBID.* II. 172 ff.

44. *IBID.* II. 121-2 ff.

45. Mathura Inscription No. XI. *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. I, p. 33; In Tamil Country the Village headman was appointed by the village assembly. See also *South Indian Epigraphical Review*, No. 89, 1932.

46. Śukranītisāra II. 120, 170-71, 343.

47. *Manusmṛti*. VII. 116; The terms Grāmini, Grāmika and Grāmbhojakas occur in Vālmiki Rāmāyaṇa, see *Yuddha Kāṇḍa Śloka* 17 sarga 116; Grāmini as a village Mukhiyā head-flourished since ancient times down to the British period. See Altekar, A. S.—*Prācīna Bhāratiya Śāsana Paddhati*, pp. 171-72; also see *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. X. Luders List No. 1333, p. 159; No. 48, p. 10; No. 1200, p. 139 and Kushan Inscriptions. Luders List No. 48 and 69;.

48. See Reference No. 47, For the Epigraphical evidences see also :

(1) GRĀMIKA or GRĀMEYAKA in North India (E.I., Vol. I, p. 387; I. A., Vol. V, p. 155; C. I. I., Vol. III, 256.

(2) MUNUNDA in East Deccan (E. I., Vol. IX, p. 58; IA, XVIII, pp. 15-17; EI., Vol. II, p. 359-61).

(3) GRĀMUKŪṬA or pattakila in Maharashtra.

(4) GRĀVUNDA IN KARNATAKA (Altekar's—*Raṣṭrakūṭas*, p. 189).

(5) MAHATTAKA or MAHANTAKA in U. P. between 600 A. D. 1200 A. D. (I. A., Vol. XVIII. pp. 15-17; XIV. pp. 103-4; XII p. 271 etc.).



help of his own militia and also to watch vigilantly the affairs of the villages thoroughly.<sup>49</sup> But Śukranīṭisāra is silent on the point of keeping a militia by them. As regards other duties, the treatise records<sup>50</sup> that "the king should appoint officers like Grāmapa... who should realise 1/32 portion of the ( capital ) increase or interest" in the matters of receiving the house rent, the dwelling tax and the cultivated land tax, the land tax from the shopkeepers and the road taxes also. The other sources of the revenue were the tolls, the land-cess,<sup>51</sup> the customs and the forest taxes.<sup>52</sup> The text further enjoins that after gathering the various taxes, it was the duty of the Grāmapa or Grāmanetā to deposit it safely to a man of trust and confidence in the village.<sup>53</sup>

The Śukranīṭisāra refers to the different grades of the revenues which were collected by the various officers, employed to conduct the village administration. These grades were 1/16th, 1/12th, 1/10th, 1/8th of the gross production or income etc. But the Grāmanetā or Grāmapa got 1/6th of the land revenue<sup>54</sup> only in every season and in every month. The criterion of equitable taxation is also a pleasing fact which the Śukranīṭisāra refers.<sup>55</sup> According to this system the state on the one side and the agriculturists and the traders on the other, should both feel that they have got a fair and reasonable return of their labours. The Śukranīṭisāra,<sup>56</sup> which permits 33% taxation, definitely states that the cultivator should get as his net income twice the amount which he spends by way of the land tax and the cost of the production. Altekar observed,<sup>57</sup> "though responsible to the Central government, he ( i.e. Grāmapa or Grāmanetā ) was generally a man of the people and keen to protect their interest. He was as much indispensable to the village as to the administration."

**BHOGAHĀRA :** Śukra refers to him as a land-revenue tax collector like the gardener who gives all care to the maintenance and the health of the trees and then

49. See KULĀVAKA and KHARASSARA Jātaka for the early period and for the later period compare—यथा स्वसैन्येनसहग्रामाध्यं चादिः सैन्यसर्वाध्यक्षस्य भवति ।” SĀṆKHYATATTVAKAUMUDI pp. 54. (Jha's Edition).

50. Śukranīṭisāra, IV. 2, 245, 258.

51. IBID. IV, 2 129.

52. IBID. II. 205-14; pp. 73-74 Daṇḍin's Daśakumāracarita, p. 204.

53. IBID. IV. 235.

54. गृहीत्वा तत्प्रति भुवं धनं प्राक्तस्सुमन्तुता । विभागशो गृहीत्वापि मासि मासि ऋतौ ऋतौ । षोडशद्वादशदशाष्ट्य ततो बाधकारिणः । स्वाशात्षष्ठांश भागेन ग्रामपांसन्नियोजयेत् ।

Śukranīṭisāra. IV, 236-37.

55. Śukranīṭisāra IV. 2. 19 and see also Manusmṛiti, VII. 127.

56. Śukranīṭisāra IV. 2. 115;

57. Altekar, A. S. State and Government in Ancient India—p. 227.



gathers the fruits.<sup>58</sup> It seems that he was also a responsible officer in the realm of village administration.

**SULKA-GRĀHAKA** : Śukra mentions him with the name of Śaulkika who used to collect the taxes particularly from the merchant class in such a manner as not to harm the investment of the village merchants.<sup>59</sup>

**LEKHAKA**<sup>60</sup> : He seems to be like a modern clerk, whose duty was to keep the record of the village administration. The treatise also mentions the qualification of the Lekhaka who should be proficient in maintaining the accounts properly, and should also be well conversant with several foreign languages so as to carry out the intermittant correspondence with every state. It further recorded Lekhaka should also possess a legible and a fine handwriting.<sup>61</sup>

**PRATIHĀRA** : Śukranītisāra refers to the several essential qualifications and the duties of Pratihāra in an eloquent fashion.<sup>62</sup> He must possess a good physique;<sup>62</sup> and must be well versed in the use of weapons. Among the duties of Pratihāra mention can be made of furnishing the information, summoning the people, albeit courteously when required by the other officials. Hence, Pratihāra occupied a distinguished position in the village administration.

Thus, the aforesaid account of the village officials, as gleaned from the Śukranītisāra shows that all these officials in one way or the other were largely responsible for collecting the revenues of the villages. It seems that the Revenue and the taxation were the mainstay of the state. To Faweet<sup>63</sup> taxation is necessary

58. "वृत्तासपुंभ्ययत्नेन फल पुष्पं विचिन्वति ॥ मालाकारश्चात्यन्त भागहारस्तथा त्रिविधः"

Śukranītisāra II. 171-72; Rhyas Davids *Buddhist India*-p. 377; In the *smṛtis* the term Bhoga or its equivalent a *Amśa* ( अंश ) stands for the land-tax, see *Gautama* X. 24-27; *Manusmṛiti* VIII. 130, p. 276; *Kauṭilya Arthaśāstra*, Bk. Ch. II, p. 271; Śukra refers to Bhoga as one of the 9 sources of revenue payable to the State. See Śukra, Ch. II. 11. 209-14, pp. 73-74.

59. "यथाविक्रयिणां मूलधननाशो भवेन्नहि ॥ तथा शुल्कं तुहरति शौल्कं सउदाहृतः"

Śukranītisāra II. 17-75.

In Gupta administration a Śaulkiki was the Superintendent of Sulka (i. e. tolls and custom, see Fleet, *C.I.I.*, Vol. III (12), p. 52; also see the Kalimpur plate of the 9th A. D. in *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. No. 34, p. 253.

60. Śukranītisāra II. 120; II. 11. 293-4, p. 79 also see Fleet's-Record of the Somavamsi Kings of Katak, *Epigraphia Indica*, Vol. III (27), p. 123 and

61. गणनाकुशलो वस्तुदेश भाषाप्रभेदवित् । असंदिग्धम् गूढार्थं विलिखेत्स च लेखकः Śukra. II. 172-73.

62. शस्त्रास्त्र कुशलोयस्तु दृढांगश्चनिरालसः ॥ यथायोग्यं समाह्वयात्प्रनम्रः प्रतिहारकः"

Śukranītisāra II. 173-74.

63. Faweet-Political Economics, p. 196.



in order to meet the expenses of the state and to Mill<sup>64</sup> "REVENUE IS THE CONDITION OF THE EXISTING GOVERNMENT". Apart from these modern notions about the importance of the Revenue and the taxation, the ancient Indian politicians like Kauṭilya<sup>65</sup> have also further corroborated the aforesaid facts by saying that "finance is the basis of all activities of the state." In fact, Jātaka<sup>66</sup> too recognises the utmost importance of the treasury and the store-houses. Thus, Śukranītisāra clearly shows that special attention was paid over the collection of the Revenues by the several village officials chiefly in order to meet out all the possible affairs of the state systematically and successfully.

**Supervisory Body**—Apart from the body of several village officers, Śukranītisāra also refers to another body of the supervisory staff, employed for the systematic village administration. The necessity was primarily felt due to the rapid increase of the size of the villages from 10 to 100, and from 100 to 1000. These villages signifying the aforesaid sizes were known as NĀYAKA, SĀMANTA and ĀŚĀPALA respectively.<sup>67</sup> It is also said that the lord of a thousand villages rode on the vehicle drawn by two horses while the lord of 10 thousand villages rode in a carriage of four.<sup>68</sup> This supervisory body of officials has been thought to be like a village Pañcāyata by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru,<sup>69</sup> which had great powers both executive and judicial and which was a superior body over the existing staff for conducting the village administration. Śukranīti does not clearly point out the mutual relations between this hierarchy. It seems that their responsibility lay in the collection of state revenue within their jurisdictions.

Another notable feature of the village autonomy as X-rayed through the the Śukranītisāra was the state's complete immunity from the affairs of the village administration. It mentions that no soldier was to enter the villages, nor any of the villagers were permitted to enter into any kind of transaction with them.<sup>70</sup> This clearly shows that village matters were not interfered by the state policy. Thus, the internal village administration enjoyed a fair amount of autonomy and the central government did not follow any kind of strictly interfering policy.<sup>71</sup>

64. Mill—Principles of Political Economics, p. 483.

65. Arthaśāstra, II. 8. Kośāpūrā sarvārambhāḥ.

66. V. R. Dikshitar—Administrative Institution, p. 167. ff; see also Ganguli, article in *I. H. Q.* Vol. I, p. 696 ff.

67. अधिकृतो दशग्रामनायकः स च कीर्तितः। शतग्रामाधियो यस्तु सोऽपि सामन्त संज्ञकः आशापार्श्व युतग्राम भागभाक्।”  
Śukranīti. I. 190.

68. Śukranītisāra—V. 81-84 ff.

69. Pt. J. L. Nehru—Discovery of India, p. 28.

70. “ग्रामास्वर्हिर्वसे युस्ते ये ये त्वधिकृता नृपैः नृपकार्यं विना कश्चित् न ग्रामं सैनिकोविशेत् तथा न पौड येस्कृतं कदापि ग्रामवासितः सैनिकोर्न व्यवहरेन्नित्यं ग्राम जनोहपि च”  
Śukranītisāra V. 90-91.

71. Mookerji, R. K.—*op. cit.*, p. 3-4.



## Judicial Organization

So far as the Judicial Organisation in the village administration is concerned, Śukranīti refers to three types of local courts unlike earlier Hindu thinkers.<sup>72</sup> These courts were *Kula*, *Śreṇī* and *gaṇa*. These courts had their own Judicial Jurisdictions in settling the disputes of various kinds. They enjoyed the powers of adjudication. Śūkrācārya also mentions unlike Kauṭilya, a number of occupational associations each having own Judicial Jurisdiction. Cases involving the foresters were to be decided by the corporation of foresters, and similarly, the soldier's cases were settled by the corporation of soldiers.<sup>74</sup> This feature had led Sircar<sup>75</sup> to cite a parallel from the modern English history where a peer was not subject to the ordinary law court and his case was to be decided by the body of peers only. This tends to show that the cases were decided by the best men or the elders of the locality or the neighbours belonging to that particular association to which the cases belonged. This fact has been corroborated by other literary evidence<sup>76</sup> also. Apart from this, Śūkra also mentions that the trials whether civil or criminal should be taken before the public<sup>77</sup> so that Justice may render a moral precept to the public or *prājā*.

It is on the scanty evidences of Śukranītisāra<sup>78</sup> and other literary evidences of Nārada and Smṛtis, scholar like Banerji believed<sup>79</sup> in the prevalence of the de facto Jury system in ancient India. But to him the point of its actual working does not appear to be very clear. Śukranītisāra<sup>80</sup> also refers to the trials for getting the truth from the accused by using mystical or occult practices and the sentence was delivered after weighing the entire evidences of both the accused and the witness. Since the treatise refers to the cases which were mainly decided by the best men or the elders of the locality and neighbours that is why Dikshitar<sup>81</sup> holds that these "qualified persons often formed the Jury of the court and these were chosen then and there." From this it would appear that the Jury was not a permanent institution in Ancient Judicial system.

72. *Bṛhaspati*, I. 28-30.

73. *Śukranītisāra* IV. 5, 30;

74. *IBID.* IV. 5 24; "अभियुक्ताद्य ये तत्र यान्निबन्धनियोजनं तत्रत्यगुणदोषाणां तं एवं हि विचारकः  
आख्यास्तु स्वकैः कुर्यैः सार्थिकाः सार्थिकैः सहः सैनिकाः सैनिकैरेव ग्रामेषु मयवांसिभिः

75. *Śukranītisāra* of Śūkrācārya—Translation—B. K. Sircar, Allahabad, 1925.

76. *Bṛhaspati* I. 25-27; *Manu* V. 62, 258-62 *Yājñavalkya* II. 150; *Arthaśāstra*, Bk. III, sec 9.

77. नेकः पश्येच्च कार्याणिवादिनां शृणुयाद्भवः रहसि च नृपः प्राज्ञः सम्वाश्चैव कदाचन' *Śūkra*. IV. 5.6.

78. *Śukranīti*. IV. 5. 27 ff. P. N. Banerji—Legal Procedure. III.

79. P. N. Banerjee Public Administration—p. 143.

80. *Śukranītisāra* II 97-99 ff.

81. V. R. Dikshitar—Hindu administrations, p. 246.



Thus, in a nut-shell, Śukranitisāra of Śukrācārya has highlighted the manifold aspects of ancient village autonomy and its administrative set up including the systematic village defence planning, well-organised revenue and judicial administration alongwith a remarkable Hygiene and sanitation in the villages. It is indeed an indispensable treatise as it has furnished a pleasing picture of a well-organized administrative machinery of ancient village communities, which was governed<sup>82</sup> by the well graded-officials with their well defined duties. And above all, the Administrative set up was marked with the notable salient feature of autonomy. The officers enjoyed full liberty in their duties and they were hardly concerned with any state intervention. To conclude, Dikshitar has rightly commented that though every nation evolved its own polity, no polity had the inherent vitality that Hindu polity possessed, and this feature enabled the latter to continue to line unhampered by the ravages of time."

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82. *IBID*—p. 382.



SUNANDANA

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## POINT OF NO RETURN

When the mind  
With bodily needs  
Concerns itself,

In senses' gratification  
It strives for satiation.

When its attention  
To the Soul,  
The mind diverts,

In Souls' communion,  
It seeks salvation.

But at the power  
Of the magnetic pull  
From the cosmic centre,

The Mind, the Body,  
And the Soul.

All converge together  
To reach  
THAT POINT OF NO RETURN.



## Śabda Artha & Śabdārtha in Kāvya

.....By which words are charged into something beyond themselves and their arrangement transmuted into this language of another world; a language in which the very shape and size and texture of words, their resonance, their position and significance, become, as it were, faery, charged with tremendous or mysterious or ravishing music." W. Lewis.<sup>1</sup>

Poetry is the most subtle ( *Sūkṣma* ) of all arts because both its medium, i.e., *Śabda* and *Artha* and the consequent result, i. e. experience of supernatural and instantaneous *Ānanda* through *Rasāsvāda* as our Sanskrit Poetics would say, are more subtle than in the case of all other arts. The poet never goes nor can he ever afford to go by the mere dictionary meaning of the words that he makes use of. Actually if he were not to extract, for his poetic purpose, far greater meaning from the words than the words are ordinarily capable of yielding, and far greater meaning from *Artha* than what it ordinarily is, we can state that there is nothing original, nothing that is the poet's own in the *Kāvya* that he writes. And this original or the poet's own is the outcome of what we know as his *Pratibhā*. His *Pratibhā* may thus rightly be defined as अपूर्वस्तुनिर्माणक्षमा प्रज्ञा—intellect that is capable of creating ever something unknown earlier or as प्रज्ञा नवनवोन्मेषशालिनी, intellect that is ever capable and engrossed in revealing experience ( of beauty and *Rasa* ) that are ever new. This *Pratibhā*, the finest embellishment of which is, according to this definition, the embodiment of Imagination as Shakespeare would concede, extracts far greater and beautiful meaning from the words than it is ordinarily possible. Shakespeare's famous words are—

As Imagination bodies forth  
The shape of things unknown the poet's pen  
turns to shape and gives to airy nothing  
A local habitation and a name.

We come across countless illustrations in which Imagination of the Poet works wonders on the words that he uses. A few illustrations may be cited here as follow :

1. In 'Francois Villon,'



( a ) Put out the light and then put out the light ( Othello )

( b ) चक्रवाकवधूः आमन्त्रयस्व सहचरं उपस्थिता रजनी । ( Kālidāsa )<sup>2</sup>

‘O beloved of the cakravāka bird, bid goodbye to your lover, the night is near.’

( c ) करुणस्य मूर्तिरथवा शरीरिणी विरहप्यथेति वनमेति जानकी । ( Bhavabhūti )<sup>3</sup>

‘Here goes Sitā to the forest as if she were the direct incarnation of the *Karuṇa* or embodied sorrow of separation.’

If we were to think of the varied meanings that these words in their proper context in the three respective poets reveal, we come to understand that actually the poet does not want to state what he does and he does not very often state what he wants to. Direct statements in the world of the poet do not yield what we know as Poetry. It again happens very often that a poet reveals his thought better by not revealing it at all or consciously hiding it. Even besides *Vyaṅgyārtha* rightly known by *Ananda* as *Prattiyamūna*, the poet leaves so many ideas and feelings unrevealed. These ideas, experiences, emotions, *Bhāvas*, reveal themselves on their own to the heart of the *Sahṛdaya*. Here, the silence of the poet becomes eloquent. Even this is a secret of the way in which a poet writes. We may cite an illustration or two here also.

( 1 ) The *Śānta Rasa* and *Mokṣa* that are what Muni Vyāsa reveals by way of *Dhvani* mainly by his silence in his *Mahābhārata*. This makes meaningful the derivation of the word *Muni* as *Maunāt Muniḥ* ( A poet is a *Muni* due to his silence ).

( 2 ) Vāsanti's chiding of Rāma in the *Uttararāmācaritam* in these words

त्वं जीवितं त्वमसि मे हृदयं द्वितीयं

त्वं कौमुदी नयनयोरमृतं त्वमङ्गे ।

इत्यादिभिः प्रियशतैरनुरुध्य मुग्धां

तामेव शान्तमथवा किमिशोत्तरेण ॥ ( ३.२६ )

in which she is silent over her last expression in her state of emotional excess. She is not able to speak it out and it is expressed far more effectively.

( 3 ) When we try to probe into the secret of what Hamlet experiences after he is ordered by the ghost of his father to swear revenge, it is clear to the heart of the *Sahṛdaya* that the poet has given only a faint glimpse of his far larger and deeper suffering. The poet's silence on the deeper suffering leaves lots for the *Sahṛdaya* to probe into on his own and this helps him to become one with Hamlet.

2. 'Shakuntala,' third act, end.

3. *Uttararāmācaritam*,



( 4 ) More or less on the same lines the *Sahṛdaya* probes into and experiences in silence the conflicts and suffering of the heart of Macbeth.

There are countless other ways in which a poet uses his own *Śabda* and *Artha* in order to make his purport, *Dhvani* as *Ānanda* would state, beautifully revealed in the heart of the *Sahṛdaya*. This has led to a detailed discussion on the importance of *Śabda*, *Artha* and *Śabdārtha* in *Kāvya* and on the types of *Śabda* and *Artha* in *Kāvya* and how a poet makes use of these. We analyse here in brief the outstanding views of the *Ācāryas* of old in Sanskrit Poetics.

*Viśvanātha* has given in brief how the different *Alaṅkāraṇas* in *Kāvya* are related to it. He states :

काव्यस्य शब्दाथौ शरीरं, रसादिश्चात्मा, गुणाः शौर्यादिवत्, दोषाः कारणत्वादिवत्, रीतयोऽवयवसंस्थान-  
विशेषवत्, अलंकाराः कटककुण्डलादिवत् । ( प्रथमः परिच्छेदः )

“*Śabda* and *Artha* are the body of *Kāvya*; *Rasa* etc., is the soul. The *Guṇas* are like heroism etc.; *Doṣas* are like one-eyedness etc., the *Ritis* are like the typical arrangement of the limbs and the *Alaṅkāras* are like *Kaṭaka* and *Kuṇḍala* etc.”

He defines *Kāvya* as “A *vākya* the soul of which is *Rasa*.”<sup>4</sup> To him *Śabda* and *Artha* are only the body of *Kāvya*. But other *Ācāryas* take exception to this and opine that *Śabda* and *Artha* are more intimate to *Kāvya* than what *Viśvanātha*’s view lays down. “Even the Vedic sages understood the fact that the literal meaning of an utterance is only a part of its total meaning and that those who try to analyse the literal meaning may completely lose sight of the real significance of speech,” Here we have these three important views.

(1) *Śabda* is *Kāvya*. *Jagannātha* defines *Kāvya* as

रमणीयार्थप्रतिपादकः शब्दः काव्यम् ।<sup>5</sup>

“That word which leads to the experience of a beautiful meaning is *Kāvya*. “He then stresses that *Śabda* is *Kāvya* and even *Artha* is purely dependent upon *Śabda*. What is known as *Ramaṇīyatā* of *Artha* is purely dependent upon the unusually vivid, fine, original and unique *Śabda* of a poet. *Śabda* is thus *Kāvya* in the sense that everything in poetry is dependent upon. The extraordinary choice of words by the *Pratibhā* of a poet therefore makes *Kāvya* what it is and therefore *Śabda* is *Kāvya*.

(2) *Artha* is *Kāvya*. *Ananda* states that

अर्थः सहृदयंश्लाघ्यः काव्यात्मा यो व्यवस्थितः ..... ।<sup>6</sup>

4. वाक्यं रसात्मकं काव्यम् ।

5. *Rasagangadhara*

6. *Dhvanyaloka* 1.2



“The *Artha* that is to the unique liking of a *Sahṛdaya* and that is the soul of *Kāvya* . . . etc.”

He here adds that it is *Artha* and that principally, that appeals to the heart of the *Sahṛdaya* and conveys an extraordinary experience of *Dhvani* or *Rasa*. This *Artha* is all in all in *Kāvya*. It is clear that to Ānanda, the word *Artha* here is the purport, or beauty, or *Rasa*-experience or *Vyañjanā* that is yielded by and conveyed to the heart of the *Sahṛdaya* by the words of the poet. Bhavabhūti's words in all wonder rightly reveal the all-importance of *Artha* and also explain how, when and which *Artha* will become *Kāvyārtha*. When it is said ‘*Artha* is *Kāvya*,’ the word can here be interpreted in so many ways, actually the *Artha* will mean what the *Sahṛdaya* will experience and the experience of the *Sahṛdayas* is not always just one. That is the reason why Ānanda uses these words for his *Artha* :

प्रतीयमानं पुनरन्यदेव, वस्त्वस्ति वाणीषु महाकवीनाम् ।  
यत्तत्प्रसिद्धावयवातिरिक्तं विभाति लावण्यमिवाङ्गनासु ॥

and

काव्यस्यात्मा स एवार्थस्तथा चादिकवेः पुरा ।  
क्रौञ्चद्वन्द्ववियोगोत्थः शोकः श्लोकत्वमागतः ॥

“But the implied aspect is quite different from this. In the words of master poets it shines out supreme and towers above the beauty of the well-known outer parts even as charm does in ladies.”

and

“That meaning alone is the soul of Poetry; and so it was that of yore, the sorrow of the first Poet (i.e., Vālmīki) at the separation of the curlew couple took the form of a distich.”

(3) *Śabdārtha* is *Kāvya*. Bhāmaha gives a simple definition of *Kāvya* as शब्दाद्यौ सहितौ काव्यम् ।<sup>7</sup> (The unique identity of *Śabda* and *Artha* is *Kāvya*). Scholars know this *Sahitātva* if *Śabda* and *Artha* as the very basic secret of *Kāvya*, and see too much of meaning in this simple definition by Bhāmaha. Actually what scholars read in this rather simple definition of *Kāvya*, the meaning of *Sahitātva* in particular is the result of later thinking on the problem that Bhāmaha did not know. Later thought read so much in this simple definition because—

“It is a matter of common experience that an utterance may mean much more than its literal sense.”

and

7. Kavyaprakasha 1.



“This includes everything other than the literal meaning, (the primary and the metaphorical senses). And under the term ‘meaning’ is included not only the information conveyed, but also the emotion induced; this naturally necessitates the assumption of suggestive power of language.”

It is agreed that all this is not clear in the mind of Bhāmaha, but when he calls the inner beauty of Kāvya ‘*Vakrokti*’ something not clarified by him is positively in his mind. The scholars who read so much in the simple definition are therefore partially correct in the context of the fact that Bhāmaha has stressed two qualities of Kāvya—*Vakrokti* and *Atiśayokti* that are yielded by this *Sahitāva* of *Śabda* and *Artha*. It is indeed a matter of great misfortune that Bhāmaha has not clearly defined either this *Vakrokti* or *Atiśayokti*. Mammaṭa who defines Kāvya as :

तददोषौ शब्दाद्यौ सगुणानलंकृती पुनः क्वापि ।<sup>8</sup>

“(That Kāvya is Faultless (identity of) word and sense that are full of *Guṇas* and in which there is a rare absence of *Alaṅkāras*. )”

Hemacandra and some others follow in line. To Bhāmaha, Mammaṭa, Hemacandra etc., in Kāvya, *Śabda* and *Artha* are equally important for yielding beauty, *Rasa*, *Dhvani*, and all other experience that Kāvya is capable of yielding for the *Sahṛdaya*. Kāvya has its unique appeal in *Śabdārtha* though they concede that *Śabda* and *Artha* also on their own something to contribute to the charm of Kāvya. All the three *Śabda*, *Artha* and *Śabdārtha* should be charming and should yield what we know as Poetic beauty. If we were to interpret this way, the third view includes the first two and goes ahead of the first two in its explanation. Even some of the prominent poets have stressed the equal importance of *Śabda* and *Artha* in Kāvya. The following are some of the important views :

- (1) For Kāvya, Bhavabhūti in his *Mālati-Mādhava* states as follows :

यत्प्रौढित्वमुदारता च वचसां, यच्चार्थतो गौरवम् ।  
तच्चेयास्ति ततस्तदेव गमकं पाण्डित्यवैदग्ध्ययोः ॥

“If there is present in Kāvya, the maturity and voluminousness of words and unique dignity of sense, then these two explain the scholarship and poetic genius of the poet.”

In Kāvya, the poetic genius is revealed in all its charm by extraordinary *Śabda* and *Artha* with all its traits, with all that *Śabda* and *Artha* can give, with all that the *Pratibhā* of the poet wants *Śabda* and *Artha* to yield.

- (2) For Kāvya, we have the following two important utterances of Bhāravi—

स सौष्ठवौदार्यं विशेषशालिनीं विनिश्चितार्थामिति वाचमाददे । ( १.३ )

8. Kavyaprakasha 1.



and

अपि वागधिपस्य दुर्वचं वचनं तद्विदधीतविस्मयम् । ( २.२ )

“He uttered speech that was full of grace and fine expression and the one the purport of which was fully clear, and fixed.”

and

“The speech that is difficult of utterance even for the lord of Speech will excite the wonder of all ( or, the speech that is difficult of utterance for anyone will excite the wonder of even the Lord of Speech ).

If the *Śabda* and *Artha* of the poet were difficult even for *Bṛhaspati* to utter and were to excite the wonder of all, then surely, all the three—*Śabda*, *Artha* and *Śabdārtha* of the poet are unique and Mammaṭa would be right to praise the poet's speech in these words—

नियतिकृत नियमरहितां लहायैकमयीमनन्यपरतन्त्राम् ।  
नवरसरुचिरां निर्मितिमादधती भारती कवेर्जयति ॥ ( १.१ )

Victorious indeed is the speech of the Poet that is far above the rules of providence, that constitutes only of Delight, that is dependent on no other cause, and that gives birth to a creation that is full of nine *Rasas*.”

(3) Trivikramabhāṭṭa in his *Nalacampū* states :

किं कवेस्तेन काव्येन किं काण्डेन धनुष्मतः ।  
परस्य हृदये लग्नं न घूर्णयति यच्छिरः ॥

“What use is that Kāvya of poet and the arrow of an archer that, when striking the heart of the reader and the enemy do not shake the head ?”

This means capacity to move in admiration the heart of the *Sahṛdaya* and such a Kāvya is the outcome of the use of both extraordinary *Śabda* and *Artha*.

Actually there is little basic difference of outlook in the three views. Ultimately they stress almost the same importance of *Śabda* and *Artha* in Kāvya. Jagannātha gives a detailed account of why *Śabda* is Kāvya. He says—

इत्थं च चमत्कारजनकभावनाविषयार्थप्रतिपादकशब्दत्वम्, यत्प्रतिपादितार्थविषयकभावनात्वं चमत्कारजनक-  
ताण्डवच्छेदकत्वं तत्त्वम्..... १९

and

यत्तु प्राञ्चः—‘अदोषो सगुणो सालङ्कारौ शब्दार्थौ काव्यं’ इत्याहुः, तत्र विचार्यते—शब्दार्थयुगलं न काव्य-  
शब्दवाच्यं, मानाभावात्, ‘काव्यमुच्चैः पठ्यते’, ‘काव्यार्थोऽवगम्यते’, ‘काव्यं श्रुतमर्थो न ज्ञातः’ इत्यादिविश्वरजनी-  
न व्यवहारतः प्रत्युत शब्दविशेषकस्यैव काव्यपदार्थत्वप्रतिपत्तेरच ॥<sup>10</sup>

9. Rasagangadhara 1

10. Rasagangadhara 1



In this manner (in Kāvya) words lead to the development of the purport of the matter under description of the nature of Feelings that give rise to *Camatkāra* (i. e., experience of beauty, *Rasa*, *Ānanda* etc.). The capacity to give rise to *Camatkāra* is of the nature of Feelings (to be experienced) with reference to the description of the purport of the matter on hand."

and

"As for ( the view of ) the ancients, it is stated that "Kāvya is a combination of word and sense that are faultless, endowed with *guṇas* and possessing a rare absence of Figures." Here we have to consider this. The combination of the pair of word and sense is not to be expressed by the word 'Kāvya'. This is because there is absence of proof here. Again, in actuality the world-accepted way applies only to typical words (in sentences) as—'Kāvya is loudly read,' The sense is derived from Kāvya,' 'Kāvya is heard but the sense is not comprehended,' etc.

But this whole discussion shows that Jagannātha differs from others only for the sake of differing. Even in his definition of Kāvya, he has been forced to modify the purport of *Śabda* by calling it 'that which gives rise to a delightful sense—रमणीयार्थप्रतिपादकः.' When it is stated that

रमणीयार्थप्रतिपादकः शब्दः काव्यम् ।

any and every *Śabda* does not become *Kāvya*, and in a similar manner any *Artha* cannot constitute Kāvya. The beauty of *Śabda* and *Artha* is mutually complimentary, meaning thereby that they both together constitute Kāvya. S. K. De is therefore right in his view that

"It is the magical quality pertaining to words and ideas, springing from the imaginative power of the poet, which makes ordinary utterance with its *Pada*, *Vākya* and *Pramāṇa* into the charming utterance of poetry. The *Sāhitya* therefore is a certain charming commensurateness between content and expression and becomes synonymous with poetry."<sup>11</sup>

Ānanda as we have seen, lays greater stress on *Artha*. This is again proved say by his *Kārikās* 1.5, 1.6 and 1.9 that are as follows :

काव्यस्यात्मा स एवार्थस्तथा चादिकवेः पुरा ।

क्रौञ्चद्वन्द्वविधोगोत्थः शोकः श्लोकत्वमागतः ॥ ( १.५ )

and

सरस्वती स्वादु तदर्थवस्तु निःश्वन्दमाना महतां कवीनाम् ।

अलोकसामान्यमभिव्यनक्ति परिस्फुरन्तं प्रतिभाविशेषम् ॥ ( १.४ )

and

अलोकार्थी 'यथा दीपशिखायां यत्नवाञ्जनः । तदुपायतया तद्वदर्थे वाच्ये तदादृतः ॥ ( १.९ )

11. 'Some problem of Sanskrit Poetics,' p. 20



“That meaning alone is the soul of poetry; and so it was that of yore, the sorrow of the first poet (i.e. Vālmiki) at the separation of the curlew couple took the form of a distich.”

and

“The speech of master-poets streaming forth that sweet content reveals clearly their extraordinary genius which is as supernatural as it is over bright.”

and

“Just as a man interested in perceiving objects (in the dark) directs his efforts towards securing the flame of a lamp since it is a means to realise his end, so also does one who is ultimately interested in the suggested meaning first evince interest in the conventional meaning.”

But he also gives due importance to *Śabda* and asks great poets to place proper, almost equal stress on both *Śabda* and *Artha* when in 1.8 he states—

सोऽर्थस्तद्व्यक्तिसामर्थ्ययोगी शब्दश्च कश्चन । यत्नतः प्रत्यभिज्ञेयौ शब्दार्थौ महाकवेः ॥ ( १.७ )

“That meaning and that rare word which possess the power of conveying it, only these two deserve careful scrutiny of a Master-Poet.” He again in 1.13 states that *Dhvani* that is *Kāvyaviśeṣa*, is revealed as much by *Śabda* as by *Artha*.

Kuntala, in his *Vakrokti-jīva* states that *Vakrokti* is the soul of *Kāvya* and defines it as वैदग्ध्यमङ्गीभूतिः। This statement, i. e., *Śabda* that is the out come of the typical poetic faculty expressed in words of *Kāvya* (*Vaidagdhyaṅgaḥ*) will also reveal as excellent *Artha* and will be real *Vakrokti* only when it reveals a highly poetic *Artha*. Kuntala states :

शब्दार्थौ सहितौ वक्र कविव्यापारशालिनि ।

बन्धे व्यवस्थितौ काव्यं तद्विदाह्लादकारिणि ॥ ( १.७ )

शब्दार्थौ काव्यं वाच्यो वाचकश्चेति द्वौ संमिलितौ काव्यम् । यावेकमिति विचित्रैवोक्तिः । तेन यत्केपाचिन्मतं कविकौशलकल्पितकमनीयतातिशयः काव्यमिति केषांचिद्वाच्यमेव रचनावैचित्र्यचमत्कारकारि काव्यमिति, पञ्चद्वयमपि निरस्तं भवति ।

“*Kāvya* is the identity of properly arranged *Śabda* and *Artha* in a composition that is possessed of the typical process of the ( mind of ) the poet and that causes ( the experience, *Ānanda* to the *Sahādaya*.” ( 1-7 )

The expresser and the expressed, i. e., *Śabda* and *Artha* in unity form what is *Kāvya*. It would be strange indeed to say that the two come together. This defeats ( logically ) the view of some that only that word that is possessed of extraordinary charm ( based on ) the Imagination of the faculty of the poet, constitutes *Kāvya*. ( It also defeats the view ) of some others that only the expressed, i. e., *Artha* that causes unique charm born of the typical characteristic of the composition, constitutes *Kāvya*, thus, both the views stand rejected.”



This also shows that *Śabda* and *Artha* that are mutually complimentary and that are one and inseparable will constitute what is known as *Kāvya*.

All this proved that our ancient Ācāryas are fairly agreed on the importance of *Śabdārtha* in *Kāvya*, though now and then they are charmed by *Śabda* or *Artha* in *Kāvya*. And this is natural because good and lofty poetic charm is the outcome of an unusually vivid *Artha* that can be expressed only by the use of vivid *Śabda*, and the use of exquisitely fine words would be meaningful only when they yield a lovely sense. Here Kālidāsa comes to our rescue when, in his *Raghuvamśa* he salutes Śiva and Pārvatī in these words—

वागर्थविवसम्पत्तौ वागर्थप्रतिपत्तये । जगतः पितरौ वन्दे पार्वतीपरमेश्वरौ ॥ ( १.१ )

“My salutation to Pārvatī and Parameśvara, who form an identity like word and sense for the exact understanding of the purport of word and sense, and who are the parents of the universe.” ( 1.1 )

The secret power of words and sense both reveals itself the best when word and sense become uniquely identified. This is true in life and all the more true in *Kāvya* where some experience of supernatural subtle beauty and the consequent instantaneous Ānanda that we identify ourselves with. And it is too clear that the *Artha* that is not vivid and beautiful will not constitute class *Kāvya* and fine words without fine sense will be mere prattling and Sanskrit *Kāvya* is physically rich in this also—

We should end this our discussion of the first topic by trying to derive the exact connotation of the words *Śabda* and *Artha* in *Kāvya*, i. e., know what they exactly and actually mean in *Kāvya* on the basis of the discussion so far. Ānanda here states—

शब्दार्थशासनज्ञानमात्रेणैव न वेद्यते । वेद्यते स तु काव्यार्थतत्त्वज्ञैरेव केवलम् ॥

“It is not understood by a mere learning in grammar and in Dictionary. It is grasped only by those who have as insight into the true significance of Poetry.”

What he means to state is that the exact connotation and significance of *Śabda* and *Artha* is totally different in *Kāvya* from what it is in *Vyākaraṇa*. Actually we can extend the view of Ānanda to state that the *Artha* and *Śabda* in *Kāvya* are also totally different from that they are in any *Śāstra* or in any worldly use of word and sense. One more trait of it is that the exact connotation of word and sense can possibly be grasped and experienced only by a *Sahyodaya*, whom Ānanda knows as the one who grasps the inner real secret of *Kāvya*. *Śabda* and *Artha* thus being grasped would amount to meaning grasping the secret beauty of *Kāvya*. *Śabda* and *Artha* therefore do not constitute mere body of *Kāvya* as Viśvanātha would have



us believe. And for realising the experience of the beauty of *Śabda* and *Artha* in *Kāvya*, one need not necessarily be a Pundit, but one must invariably be a *Sahṛdaya*. This will give a fine and effective reply to those who expect general appeal of *Kāvya* for the common man. The man of *Kāvya* is not the common man but the *Sahṛdaya*.

It would not be out of place here to refer in some detail to the meaning of the word '*Sahṛdaya*'. Unfortunately Sanskrit Poetics is not fully clear in its discussion and exposition of the meaning of the word. Here also, as in many other topics, Ānanda comes to our rescue. He states—

अतएवासौ सहृदयसंवेद्य इति चेत्किमिदं सहृदयत्वं नाम । किं रसभावानपेक्षकाव्याश्रितसमयविशेषाभिज्ञत्वं  
उत रसभावादिमय काव्यस्वरूप परिज्ञाननैपुण्यम् । पूर्वस्मिन्पक्षे तथाविधसहृदयव्यवस्थापितानां शब्दविशेषाणां  
चारुत्वनियमो न स्यात् । पुनः समयान्तरेणान्यथापि व्यवस्थापनसंभवात् । ( ३.१६ वृत्ति )

“If one were to dismiss it by the past statement that the divergence is perceivable only to the *Sahṛdaya*, then what is this *Sahṛdayatva* ? Is it just knowledge of certain conventional canons of literary criticism irrespective of sentiments and emotion; or is it a skill in appreciation of literature imbued with sentiments, emotions etc. ? If the first alternative be true, no beauty can be present as a rule in all instances of words advocated by these so-called *Sahṛdayas* ; for it is quite possible to establish another coterie of critics and advocate the absence of beauty in such instances.

Ānanda asks the poet to be thoroughly conscious about the constant use of typical speech. He says :

प्रतायान्तां वाचो निमित्तविधिवार्थान्मृतरसा  
न सादः कर्तव्यः कविभिरनवद्ये स्वविषये ।  
परस्वादानेच्छाविरतमनसो वस्तु सुकवेः  
सरस्वत्ये वैषाद्यति यथेष्टं भगवती ॥ ( ४.१७ )

“May words that appear to critics as full of manifold ideas and ambrosial sentiments be freely spread out. Poets need have no compunction in the flawless realm of their own. The Goddess of Speech, Sarasvatī, herself will provide the desired ideas for a good poet whose mind is averse to borrowing the ideas of another.” ( 4-17 )

The words that a poet uses in *Kāvya* are thus the medium of the propagation of varied senses that lead to the experience of the ambrosial Rasa of *Artha*. This shows that in the opinion of our Sanskrit critics, extra-ordinary and original words convey an ever new and extra-ordinary *Artha*. This shows that words cease to be the mere medium of *Kāvya* Only then will *Kāvya* become so natural that we *Sahṛdayas* will be convinced beyond doubt that the Goddess Sarasvatī herself inspired the poet to writing. He is not only in communion but one with Poetry. In the *Kirātārjunīyam*, the poet Bhāravi places words in the mouth of Bhīma with regard to the speech of Draupadī—



यद्वोचत वीक्ष्य मानिनी परितः स्नेहमयेन चक्षुषा ।  
अपि वागधिपस्य दुर्वचं वचनं तद्विदधीतविस्मयम् ॥ ( २.२ )

“The words that the woman with a keen sense of self-respect has spoken, after looking to all sides of the question and with a vision full of love, will indeed be difficult to be spoken even by the Lord of Speech and will inspire the wonder of all ( or by śleṣa, difficult to be spoken by any one and will inspire the wonder even of the Lord of Speech. )

This can amply apply to the words and sense of the poet. Indeed it can be stated with safety that indirectly Bhāravi is revealing his own conception of words in Kāvya. Trivikramabhaṭṭa, the author of Nalacampū states—

जानाति हि पुनः सम्यक् कविरेव कवेः श्रमम् ।

“Only a poet can possibly know ( the secret of the labour of a poet.”

This would amount to stating that the proper use of words by a poet can possibly be grasped by a poet. Individually and collectively, word and words create as a matter of course some symbol, some picture, some image, some experience, something unique in the heart of the *Sahṛdaya*. This is precisely the function of words and sense in Kāvya. And if *Śabda* and *Artha* do not perform this function in Kāvya, we get no Kāvya and these *Śabda* and *Artha* are no *Śabda* and *Artha* of Kāvya. Eliot quite rightly recognises this power of words when he states :

“...a poem is a form of expression in which an unusual number of the resources of language are concentrated into a patterned organic unit of significant experience.”

Auden states :

“I like hanging around words, listening to what they say,” and

Hart Crane writes :

“Oh ! it is hard ! One must be drenched in words, literally soaked in them, to have the right ones from themselves into the proper patterns at the right moment.”

Then only does poetry as an Art perform its real function. And Elizabeth Drew following Wordsworth would say :

“Art is not life as it is lived and acted, it is life seen in the mode of contemplation, recreated into a new kind of life under the power of a new kind of drive, the activity of re-collecting, combining, amplifying, animating it by getting into an organic Order.”

Sanskrit Poetics therefore accepts that not only the poet but even the *Sahṛdaya* reader has an artistic personality. The difference, if any, between a poet and a



*Sahṛdaya* is that while the former is a master of *Śabda* and *Artha*, and extracts from both all that they can possibly yield, the *Sahṛdaya* only experiences the beauty, the charm, the *Rasa*-experience that these *Śabda* and *Artha* create in all variety ; he cannot express himself in communicative language or use *Śabda* and *Artha* with all their potentiality and inherent capacities. In other words, the poet experiences something unique and expresses himself, the *Sahṛdaya* confines himself to the experience of what the poet has expressed and how he wants him to experience it. We can, in our heart experience the *Śoka* of the Ādikavi, but our experience as readers will not get an outlet as that of the poet. The poet therefore the master of *Śabda* and *Artha*, while the reader who only follows the poet is not so. Only uniquely charming words can convey a uniquely charming sense. Even as a medium of expression therefore, the words of a poet should be possessed of a unique charm. But words are not merely a medium for the poet as we saw earlier. They are much more. Words are in *Kāvya* always the choicest and the best, loveliest and the most charming, befitting the emotion and the *Rasa*-experience and all the poet proposes to give. We have seen the truth about the poetry of Kālidāsa. Reduce or change one word from his writing and all the charm of it is either lost or damaged. This is precisely the charm of the choicest words and senses, more so when they prove to come from the pen of the poet without any conscious effort, in a natural strain. This is amply proved when only certain types of *Varṇas* and *Dhvanis* are said to constitute every *Guṇa* and every *Vṛtti*, as Ānanda and following him, Mammaṭa, Hemacandra, Viśvanātha etc. stress. This choice is the outcome of the *Pratibhā* of the poet, his lofty Imagination etc., etc. Ānanda would therefore stress :

प्रतायन्तां वाचो निमित्तविविधार्थोन्मत्तरसा न सादः कर्तव्यः कविभिरनवद्यै स्वविषये ।  
परस्वादानेच्छाविरतमनसो वस्तु सुकवेः सरस्वत्येवैषा घटयति यथेष्टं भगवती ॥ ( ४.१७ )

“May words that appear to critics as full of manifold ideas and ambrosial sentiments be freely spread out. Poets need have not compunction in the flawless realm of their own. The Goddess of Speech, Sarasvatī, herself will provide the desired ideas of a good poet whose mind is averse to borrowing the belongings of another.” (4.17)

The importance of the words of the poet is also stressed when its variety is laid down as

अस्त्यनेको गिरां मार्गः सूक्ष्मभेदः परस्परम् । ( १.४० )

(Countless indeed are the paths of the poetic expression and these are mutually full of subtle differences.)

and Mammaṭa uses this excellent expression about the poetic speech :

नियतिकृतनियमरहितां ह्लादैकमयीमन्यपरतन्त्राम् ।  
नवरसरुचिरां निर्मितिमादधती भारती कवेर्जयति ॥ ( १.१ )



(Victorious indeed is the speech of the poet, that is devoid of any of the rules laid down by Providence, that constitutes delight as its sole purpose, that is dependent on no other cause, and that creates something that is endowed with the nine Rasas.)

That also explains the Vakrokti of Kuntala. Yet one more condition of the *Śabda* of the poet is that it is a constant flow that does not make one suspect of a conscious effort. Precisely this is stated by Ānanda when he states that "Goddess Sarasvatī will herself provide the desired ideas of a good poet," (4.17) and adds that this is indeed the greatness of the poetry of a great poet. Only then can we state that words are not only a medium for the poet, the body of Kāvya as Viśvanātha states, but they constitute Kāvya itself. And this would mean acceptance of the view that even words as words in Kāvya have their own typical charm and the consequent appeal even though no serious Ācārya in Sanskrit accepts that words for their own sake have the ultimate appeal as Kāvya. They constitute Kāvya for themselves, their own charm, but they are really conveyers, communicators of a unique *Artha* and that way also they have their own importance in Kāvya.

This naturally brings us to the meaning of the word *Artha* in Kāvya. It is first the medium with *Śabda* of Kāvya but not that only. All Ācāryas almost agree that the *Sahṛdaya* expects some unique *Artha* in Kāvya, and this *Artha* which is far from the worldly and the dictionary-meaning, constitutes the essence of Kāvya. The word '*Artha*' in Kāvya is used in a variety of senses. When we state that *Artha* is Kāvya, naturally this *Artha* is totally different from the *Vacyārtha*; it is usually *Vyaṅgyārtha*, the *Dhoani*. This is inspite of the acceptance of those types as Kāvya in which *Dhvani* is not dominant and it is even absent. To speak in the words of Ānanda,

काव्यस्यात्मा स एवार्थस्तथा चादिकवेः पुरा ।  
क्रौञ्चद्वन्द्ववियोगोत्थः शोकः श्लोकत्वमागतः ॥ ( १.४ )

(The meaning alone is the soul of poetry; and so it was that of yore, the sorrow of the first poet (i.e. Vālmiki) at the separation of the Krauñca couple took the form of a distich.)

and

सोऽर्थस्तद्व्यक्तिसामर्थ्ययोगी शब्दश्चकश्चन ।  
यत्नतः प्रत्यभिज्ञेयौ तौ शब्दाथौ महाकवेः ॥ ( १.८ )

(That meaning and that rare word which possesses the power of conveying it only these two deserve the careful scrutiny of a first-rate poet.) ( 1. )



It is that sense or essence of Kāvya, that charm or beauty or Rasa of Kāvya that yields Ānanda to the *Sahṛdaya*. Hence does Ānanda state that—

सहृदयहृदयाह्लादिशब्दार्थमयत्वमेवकाव्यलक्षणम् ।

(Poetry can only be defined as that which is made up of such words and meanings that will delight the mind of the *Sahṛdaya*.)

This is *Dhvani*, *Rasa*, the charm, the beauty, the very essence of Kāvya, it is all that the poet intends to convey. Bhavabhūti uses the word *Artha* in this sense of the inner-most essence of or *Rasa* of Kāvya when he states at the end of the *Gārchhanka*—एष ते काव्यार्थः. *Artha* of Kāvya is thus the *Dhvani*, the *Rasa*, the *Vakrokti*, the beauty, the charm, the essence, the *Atiśaya* of Kāvya. It is pleasure itself in Kāvya. It is therefore natural for Ānanda to lay greater stress on *Artha* in Kāvya rather than on *Śabda*. This is particularly so when we refer *Rasadhvani* and to *rasa* in *Prabandha*. Ānanda states in this context

रामायणे हि करुणोरसः स्वयमादिकविना सूत्रितः 'शोकः श्लोकत्वमागतः' इत्येवं वादिना । निर्व्यूढश्च स एव-  
सीतात्यन्तवियोगपर्यन्तमेव स्वप्रबन्धमुपस्वयता । (on 4.5)

(In the *Rāmāyaṇa* indeed, the Ādikavi himself has incorporated the sentiment of pathos as is clear by his own declaration—'sorrow has taken the turn of a stanza.' It has in fact been kept up as predominant till the very end of the work at the point of the eternal loss of Sītā by Rāma.) (on 4.5)

Even at the risk of repetition we may now state that thus in Kāvya 'Artha' means the innermost secret of Kāvya, its beauty, its charm, its appeal, its *Dhvani*, *Rasa*, *Vakrokti* or any *Atiśaya* as you will. It is that *Atiśaya* that moves the heart of the *Sahṛdaya* to unique experience, admiration and worderment.

### THE THREE ŚAKTIS OF ŚABDA

This naturally brings us to the discussion on the three types of Śakti of Śabda and the consequent three types of its *Artha* in Kāvya. Mammata states :

स्याद्वाचकः लाक्षणिको शब्दोऽत्र व्यञ्जकस्त्रिधा ।

वाच्यादयस्तदर्थः स्युः ... .. ( २.१ )

( Here, in Kāvya, word is expressive, indicative and suggestive, i.e., of three types. The Expressed etc., are their senses.) (2 1)

Grammarians, Mīmāṃsakas, literary critics, and others discuss the problem of the words and their senses. As far as Kāvya is concerned, the three senses and how they function is discussed by the Ācāryas. All concede more or less, that the expressed sense that originated from the *Vācya* or *Abhidhāśakti* of the word is not in any way dependent upon anything else and so it is known as *Mukhyārtha*,



But it should be noted that it is *Mukhyārtha* of the word and not that of *Kāvya*. Even though all the senses would be and can be present in *Kāvya*, the dominant *Artha* of *Kāvya* as accepted by most of the *Ācāryas* is the *Vyaṅgya Artha*, the suggested sense, suggestion and metaphor as it is known to be in the west. This *Artha* that originates from the expressed sense, is the one intended to be communicated, to be conveyed by the poet. The real art of the poet consists in this that he speaks in one language and means another and this another is known as the *Vyaṅgyārtha* in *Kāvya*. Almost all *Ācāryas* concede that the basis of the entire beauty of *Rasa* and all else that *Kāvya* yields to the *Sahyodaya* is, in *Vyañjanā*. *Rasa* and all that the poet pictures in his *Kāvya*, all that he intends to give, to communicate is yielded only as suggestion and that only. This is in spite of the fact that our *Ācāryas* have accepted our other types of *Kāvya* as well. That is the reason why it can be stated that in *Kāvya*, the silence of the poet is more eloquent than the speech of the poet. Mammaṭa following Ānanda states that on the dominant position of *Vyañjanā*, its equal or lower position, or its absence, *Kāvya* is of three types—*Uttama*, *Madhyama* and *Adhama* and *Viśvanātha* goes a step further and states that the last hardly deserves the name of *Kāvya*. All this reveals the great importance of *Vyañjanā* in *Kāvya*. This *Vyañjanā* is both the means and end in *Kāvya* in so far as in some *Kāvyas*, it is the medium of the revelation of *Rasa*, *Saundarya* etc., while in some others it is the end in so far as mere *Vyañjanā* becomes the real beauty or charm of *Kāvya*. It is to be accepted that wherever there is *Rasa* etc., there is *Dhvani*, i.e., *Vyañjanā* par excellence, but the vice versa is not true. Even though so many *Rasavādins* refuse to accept any *Kāvya* devoid of *Rasa* as *Kāvya*, a neutral examination of the doctrines and so many illustrations of these from great poets reveal that *Dhvani* on its own also becomes a unique charm of *Kāvya* without the essential predominance of *Rasa* etc. It is this *Vyañjanā* that helps us in differentiating it from other forms of speech. *Kāvya* is *Kāvya* precisely because of it.

There is again no finality on how it arises or evolves in *Kāvya*, no fixed rules about its origin and development can be given. And this is not surprising in so far as *Kāvya* is an ever developing art and the ways of the poets and the shades of meanings that they derive from words do not and cannot go on fixed lines. The definitions of *Śabdi* and *Ārthi Vyañjanā* that Mammaṭa gives in his *Kāvya-prakāśa* leave ample of scope for other ways in which the two *Vyañjanās* can arise and evolve. That speaks for the eternal novelty in *Kāvya* and all the charm, beauty and relish that it can yield.

We turn now to another *Śakti* of words in *Kāvya* and the consequent *Artha* that it yields. It is known as *Lakṣaṇāśakti* and the *Artha* is *Lakṣyārtha*. This denotative meaning of words is fixed in its evolution and its conditions are three. Mammaṭa defines *Lakṣaṇā* thus ;



मुख्यार्थबाधे तद्योगे रुढितोऽथ प्रयोजनात् ।  
अन्योऽर्थो लक्ष्यते यत्सालक्षणाऽऽरोपिता क्रिया ॥

( When the expressed sense is not suitable in the context, there is an allied sense available and there is some purpose in the process, we have what is known as *Lakṣaṇā* that is a process superimposed on the expressed one.)

Here also, the interest of the poet can be and very often is in the third condition—the purpose of some unique suggestion. The poet can and will mainly use this as a means and normally not as the end. That is the reason why Mammaṭa first knows *Lakṣaṇā* as *Rūdhā* and *Prayojanavati* and then proceeds to define only the six types of the latter.

It is therefore natural of Ācāryas to concede that when the poet makes use of the three types of words and the consequent three types of senses, normally the good poet aims at *Vyañjanā*. That explains why Mammaṭa adds :

सर्वेषां प्रायशोऽर्थानां व्यञ्जकत्वमपीक्ष्यते ।

( Normally all the Arthas have *Vyañjanā* also in them. )

It is in this context that we take a note of an important statement of K. K. Raja :

“It is a matter of common experience that an utterance may mean much more than its literal sense. The Naiyāyikas and the Mīmāṃsakas interested more in accuracy and precision in the use of words which they want to analyse objectively then in the fullness of expression and in the possibilities of extending the range of meanings to the domain of the inexpressible, are unsatisfied with the normal literal sense; but the poets and the critics who deal with the totality of human experience cannot neglect vast portions of language behaviour.”

Thus, even in this discussion of the three senses that the words of the poet yield to him, our Ācāryas once more lay down the importance of *Vyañjanā* in *Kāvya*. It speaks for the reality of *Kāvya* that the poets and the scholars have discussed and revealed. It is of course conceded that in *Kāvya* all the three senses are at work. But ultimately it is *Vyañjanā* that the poet is mainly interested in. *Vyañjanā* is the basis of *Kāvya*. To the Sanskrit poets and Ācāryas therefore, *Vyañjanā* and *Kāvya* are almost synonymous terms. They are more or less expressing the same view of the westerners as we have in W. Lewis and J. L. Lowes as follows :

“...by which words are charged into something beyond themselves and their arrangement transmuted into the language of another world ; a language in which the very shape and size and texture of words, their resonance, their position and significance become, as it were, faery, charged with tremendous or mysterious or ravishing music.”



and,

“For over that which we call the meaning of the words a poet uses, there goes on an incessant play of suggestion, caught from each user’s own adventure among word—flashes that come and vanish, stirrings of memories, unfoldings of vistas and the poet builds up his fabric out of both the basic meaning and the overtones.”

Actually Vyañjanā, nay Dhvani, has been accepted by most of the critics and poets as the very soul of Kāvya. Critics both in the east and the west agree that the types of Dhvani are endless. But here the important fact to be noted is that for this Vyañjanā or Dhvani, both *Śabda* and *Artha* are important, almost equally important. Western criticism runs more or less on the same lines with regard to the utility of *Śabda* and *Artha* in Kāvya.

An interesting question is the derivation of *Rasa* from *Śabda* and *Artha*. No doubt it is true that *Rasa* is to be communicated not on the *Vācyabhūmi* but on the *Vyañgya bhūmi*. This is because it is expected to arise naturally on its own. Here, the *Mauna* of the poet becomes eloquent. Modern western concepts look upon suggestion as the primary fact of the beauty of Kāvya almost in all its types, variety and isms. But in Sanskrit criticism, Dhvani and *Rasa* are so very much intimate that some of the critics take *Rasa* to be only an extension of Dhvani. This is precisely to them the *Artha* of Kāvya. As K. K. Raja states :

“Strictly speaking, the doctrine of Dhvani is only an extension of the *Rasa* theory propounded by the ancient sage Bharata, according to which the main object of a dramatic work is to rouse a *Rasa* or aesthetic emotion in the audience. Ānandavardhana extended this theory to poetry also. Many of his predecessors had understood the importance of *Rasa* in poetry; but no one had systematically dealt with it before. There is no conflict at all between the theory of Dhvani and the theory of *rasa*; the former stresses the method of treatment, whereas the latter deals with the ultimate effect, Suggestion by itself is not enough in drama or poetry; what is suggested must be charming, and this charm can come only through *rasa* or emotion. The emotion is not something which can be expressed directly by the words, it can only be suggested. K. Krishnamoorthy also gives a similar view. These are *Rasavādins* who expand far and wide the concept of *rasa* as also of Dhvani to come to the conclusion that they do. Actually in this concept, the term Dhvani is given the wide connotation by Ānanda that we find in it. Krishnamoorthy states :

“What then is dhvani ? Dhvani is an exclusively poetic feature concerned with exploiting the beauty of every element in the medium of language like *alan-kāra*, *guṇa*, and *rīti* to serve the ultimate artistic end of *rasa*. In other words,



Dhvani is the name of the whole poetic process itself which, for want of a better equivalent in English is usually rendered as 'suggestion'.

But, for all that they read in Ānanda's concept of 'rasa,' they are perhaps reading far too much over what Ānanda conceives. The Artha of Kāvya remains primarily Dhvani and Rasa-Dhvani can be a type that is the best, though not the only best. But from all the Artha that a poet derives from his Śabda, let us not confine ourselves only to this. The inner secret of the meaning of Śabda in Kāvya, *Kāvyārtha* as Bhavabhūti would say, can be any and everything that Dhvani is capable of revealing, That is the meaning, Artha of Kāvya. That is why scholars in Sanskrit seem to touch upon the innermost secret of poetic beauty and charm when they look upon the Vyañjanā in Kavi's word and sense as the be all and end all of Kāvya. This speaks volumes for the deep thinking of our Sanskritists on Śabda, Artha and Śabdārtha.

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The two series introduced were the Princess of Wales Sarasvati Bhavan Texts and the Princess of Wales Sarasvati Bhawan Studies. Gopinath was the editor of both. The first series was devoted to the publication of Sanskrit Texts and the second to critical studies of different systems and Indological issues. In the texts series, Gopinath himself edited, among many others, the following important texts : Kiraṇāvalī Bhāskara, Kusumāñjali Bodhanī, Rasasāra, Yoginī-hṛdaya dīpikā (2 parts), Bhakticandrikā, Siddhāntaratna, Siddhasiddhāntasaṅgraha, Tripurārahasya (3 parts) and Gorakṣasiddhāntasaṅgraha. He utilised the rich collection of manuscripts at the Sarasvati Bhavan and encouraged a group of Sanskrit scholars to undertake critical editions of important texts. Almost all the volumes had his valuable forewords.

The Bhavan studies series was planned by him as a periodical publication in which historical and critical assessments of important topics by eminent scholars were published. Dr. Ganganatha Jha, Batuk Nath Sharma, Col. G. A. Jacob, Nilkamal Bhattacharya, Dr. M. D. Shastri were some of the contributors. Gopinath himself contributed, by far the greatest number of research articles in these volumes. Up to 1930, some eight volumes were brought out in which some of his important contributions were : The view points of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika philosophy, Nirmāṇa Kāya (Vol. I); The system of Cakras according to Gorakṣa-nātha, theism in ancient India (articles), Some aspects of Vīra-Śaiva philosophy, an English translation of the Nyāya Kusumāñjali. (Vol. II); History and bibliography of Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika literature (4 articles). Some aspects of the history and doctrines of the Nāthas (Vol. VI). Some variant in the readings of the Vaiśeṣika Sūtras, The date of Madhusūdana Sarasvatī, Descriptive notes on Sanskrit Manuscripts (Vol. VII). Thus, in the field of bringing out a regular series of invaluable books on Indology, Gopinath proved to be a pioneer in the entire Northern India.

Along with this academic work, Gopinath was advancing on the way to spiritual realisation. His academic interests brought him close to the doctrines of Sādhana followed by the Śaivas and the Nāthas. Incidentally, he was the first to bring to light the doctrines of the Siddhas and the Nāthas and a comprehensive bibliography of the Nyāya-Vaiśeṣika literature. He mastered both the northern and Southern Śaivism—the monistic and dualistic systems respectively and found himself, temperamentally attuned to the monistic Śaiva philosophy of the Kashmir School. He started searching for a spiritual guide, the Guru.

Varanasi gave him the Guru he was looking for. Gopinath had started looking for one for a long time. While a student in the Govt. Sanskrit College, he was impressed by the profound scholarship of Bhargava Ramakinkara Yogatrayananda (Shashi Sanyal) whose Āryaśāstra pradīpa had a great influence on



him. Even before that, when he was a student in the School, he came to know of the great Sādhaka of Bengal, Lokanāth Brahmachari of Baradi, from one of his teachers, Mathura Mohan Chakravarty (later, founder of the Shakti Ausadhalaya). He also had a great respect for Yogiraja Shyamacharan Lahiri of Varanasi and used not only to read whatever was available about the saints and Sādhakas all over the world but would run to meet the living seekers of truth and God. His search for the Guru found consummation in 1918 when he met Swami Vishuddhananda Paramahansa at whose feet he dedicated himself as a disciple. Since then he devoted himself to esoteric Sādhana. Unlike his Guru who used to demonstrate supernatural powers, Gopinath did never aspire to show yogic powers although he had full faith in the doctrine of yogic powers (Siddhis).

That his *Sādhana* was successful could be felt by coming close to him. Here was a man endowed with mastery over so many branches of learning but without the least trace of egotism or pedantry. The strongest adherent to his own discipline, he had no sectarian bias and firmly believed in the truth that all the different paths lead to the same realisation of the ultimate reality. His basic faith in spirituality as the essence of human life gave him an inimitable childlike simplicity that was quite baffling in relation to such an accomplished scholar. He was optimistic in faith and synthetic in approach. His vast range of study led him to an eminence where sectarian distinctions naturally wither away. That is why he could so easily maintain his views without coming into conflict with the orthodox schools, the Buddhists, the Jainas, the Christians or even the viewpoint of Islam.

Gopinath came into personal contact with Mata Anandamayi in 1924. Both realised the worth of either and the contact continued until his end came in the *Āśrama* of Anandamayi. In addition, he had personal contact with many well-known Sādhakas of whom Ram Tnakur Meher Baba, the Parsee saint, Siaram Das Onkar nath, Swami Pramananda Tirtha may be mentioned. Bharataratna Bhagavan Das also had impressed him, whose work on Theosophy drew his attention to that discipline. Dilip Kumar Roy, the well-known singer-disciple of Sri Aurobindo also had personal relationship with Gopinath and some important letters were exchanged between them.

#### IV

In 1937, Gopinath voluntarily retired from the government service. This year was important in his life as in that very year his Guru Swami Vishuddhananda breathed his last. Though all the disciples of the Guru wanted to put the mantle of the Guru on him, Gopinath resisted this attempt. He, however, took upon himself the responsibility to look after the Varanasi Ashram of his Guru, the Vishuddha Kanana, wherefrom he started the publication of a series in Bengali



under the name, Vishuddha-Vāṇī. The series aimed at an exposition of the special discipline advocated by his Guru, Swami Vishuddhananda, and Gopinath was the chief contributor.

Retirement from service, for Gopinath, did not mean a retired life. He became the more active in matters academic and spiritual. He continued to remain the fountainhead of inspiration for the researchers who flocked to him for guidance and insight. Gopinath suggested topics, helped prepare the synopsis, directed the attention of young researchers to the salient points of the problem and even taught them the texts. With his profound Scholarship and original ideas, Gopinath proved to be the real guide of generations of research scholars who, however, were registered with formal supervisors in different universities, almost all over India. It was a unique selfless service of the noble savant to the cause of higher studies.

In addition to guiding research scholars Gopinath held classes at his house and taught the texts particularly on Yoga, Śaivism and Tantra. If impressed by the sincerity of the enquirer, he would teach literary texts or elucidate the viewpoint of Abhinavagupta on literature or any other subject. Buddhist philosophy was also one of his favourite subjects. His approach being thoroughly original, his teaching invariably aroused keener thirst for knowledge in the taught. A contact with him for even a short period was sure to become a memory cherishable for the whole life.

Gopinath was associated with almost all the Universities as an assessor of research work. It would be no exaggeration to say that all researches in Indology, especially in the Northern India, from the thirties upto the sixties happened to be directly or indirectly indebted to this great scholar for this academic achievement.

His personal contribution to the scholarly world also went on unabated. He contributed articles in Bengali, Hindi, English and Sanskrit. Uttarā, Ānanda-vārtā, Himadri are the important Bengali periodicals wherein his articles were regularly published. His Hindi writings were mainly published in the Kalyan of Gorakhpur. He was associated with the publication of the special issues of the Kalyan. On his suggestion special issues on Yoga, Sādhana etc. of the Kalyan were conceived, planned and published.

Gopinath was also associated with the management of two Sanskrit Colleges in the city—The Sharatkumari Sanskrit Vidyasrama and the Goenka Sanskrit Mahavidyalaya.



Along with all these activities, Gopinath must have been proceeding on with his personal spiritual *Sadhana* which was never made public. He was dumb about personal achievement which, however, was apparent on the shining face and endless compassion in his eyes.

## V

By 1960, Gopinath fell seriously ill. Medical examination detected a cancerous growth in the rectal region and he was taken to the Tata Institute of Bombay for treatment. In 1961 he was operated upon by Dr. Burgess of the Tata Institute. The late Sri Prakash, the then Governor of Maharashtra personally looked after his treatment at the hospital. The operation was successful and Gopinath returned to Varanasi via Delhi where he convalesced at the Anandamayi Ashram.

In 1964, the Govt. of U. P. decided to offer him the headship of the newly started Yoga-Tantra Department at the Varanaseya Sanskrit Visvavidyalaya formerly the Govt. Sanskrit College. The Education Minister, Sri Kamalapati Tripathi personally came to him and requested him to accept the offer. He was allowed to work in his own house. Gopinath agreed and worked as the Head of the department from 1964 to 1969. During his tenure as head an all India conference on Tantra and Yoga was held and a new series of publications under the name the Yoga-Tantra Series was introduced in the Sanskrit University. In this series, he himself edited three volumes of Tantrik texts : The *Luptāgamasāṅgraha* (Part I)—a collection of agamic statements of such texts as are best; the *Tantra Sangraha* a collection of 18 Tantrik treatises in three volumes.

Gopinath had been severely shaken by the attack of Cancer and his health was gradually deteriorating. As a result, he relinquished the responsibility of the Yoga-Tantra department in 1969 and was prevailed upon by Mata Anandamayi to shift to her Ashram on the bank of the Ganges at Bhadaini locality. Gopinath submitted to the wishes of the mother and became an inmate of the Ashram.

Here in this Ashram, he lived for nearly seven years (1969-76) under the personal care and supervision of Mata Anandamayi. Twice he had to be hospitalised at the B. H. U. and since then was kept under constant medical care. His daughter and devotees always kept a watch on him. It was at this Ashram that the end finally came.

## VI

The personal life of the great scholar was as simple and unostentatious as his public life. He was married early, at the age of thirteen, in 1900 to Kusumkumari, also of a well-known family of Sanskrit scholars of East Bengal. He had



two children—a son, Jitendranath and a daughter Sudha. His family, consisted of, in addition to his wife and children, his mother who breathed his last at Varanasi in 1925. Gopinath lived in rented houses until in 1937 he shifted to his own newly built house at Sagra. Gopinath outlived his only son (a sad premature death) and wife and left behind him his widowed daughter, a grandson and two grand daughters.

Though a family-man, Gopinath lived the life of a saint and in spite of bearing all responsibilities incidental to family life, was never ruffled in the face of calamities. True to the ideal preached by the Mahābhārata, he accepted both adversity and prosperity with complete equanimity. His firm faith in the divine dispensation never flagged.

Gopinath was not spendthrift but never miserly as well. His house, like the *gurugṛhas* of the past, provided shelter to a number of students and devotees whose material welfare was carefully looked after by him.

## VII

To conclude, a reference needs be made to the many honours offered to this man who never hankered after them and the works that have been published in book-form. The list of books given here is not comprehensive but aims only to refer to some of the important ones only.

In English, Aspects of Indian Thought and Bibliography of Nyaya-Vaisesika literature have been published respectively by the University of Burdwan and D. P. Chattopadhyay, Calcutta.

In Hindi, the Bihar Rashtrabhasha Parishad has published—Bharatiya Sanskriti aur Sādhana in 2 vols ; Tāntrik Vāṇmaya men Śākta dr̥ṣṭi ; and Kāśī ki Sārasvata Sādhana. The Hindi Samiti of the Govt. of Uttar Pradesh published Tāntrik Sahitya, a bibliography of Tāntrik literature.

In Bengali a number of books have been published of which the following may be mentioned : Bharatiya Sadhanar Dhara ; Tantra O Agama Shastrer Digdarshan—both published by the Sanskrit College, Calcutta. Tantrik Sadhana O Siddhanta—2 volumes, published by the University of Burdwan. Different publishers published the following ; Shri Krishna Prasanga ; Sādhudarśan O Satprasanga ; Sahitya-cintā ; Patraṅgalī ; Akhanda Mahāyogyer Pathe ; Svasamvedan—2 Volumes. etc.

Gopinath was awarded many honorary degrees, from all over the country of which the following may be mentioned ; Mahamahopadhyaya by the Govt. of



India in 1934. D. Litt by the Universities of Allahabad and Banaras. Padma-bibhushan by the Govt. of India in 1964, Desikottama by the Visvabharati University 1975, Vācaspati by the Varanaseya Sanskrit University 1976. Sarvatantra Sārvabhauma by the Sanskrit College Calcutta 1965.

He was awarded the Rabindranath plaque by the Asiatic Society of Bengal in 1975 and a medal by the same society of Bombay in 1967. The Sahitya Akademi honoured him with a prize for his book in Hindi, Tāntrik Yānmaya men Śākta dr̥ṣṭ. The Govt. of U. P. presented him a special prize of Rs. 10000/- for his work, Tāntrik Sāhitya in 1975,

A felicitation Volume, R̥ṣikalpanyāsa was also presented to him by the A. I. Sanskrit Parishad, Lucknow on the occasion, of his eightieth birthday. A biography has also been written in Hindi and published by Dr. Bhagavati Prasad Singh of the University of Gorakhpur under the title-“Manishi Ki Lokayātrā”.

The biographical sketch presented here is naturally a bare narration of facts. We have seen how Gopinath faced a great many problems right from his childhood and inspite of them rose to an eminence covetable to all votaries of scholarship. He was successful in every phase of life-as a librarian, a principal, a teacher, a pioneer in Sanskritic research and as a man of profound scholarship. Although it is quite sufficient to mark him as one of the greatest personalities in the field of Indological studies, this was not all. Gopinath Kaviraj was all this and something more. That is why we prefer to class him as an institution.





## The Concept of Suffering in Indian Thought

A well-known Indian prayer says :

*sarvatra sukhinah santu, sarve santu nirāmayāḥ  
sarve bhadrāṇi paśyantū, mā kaścit duḥkhamāpnuyāt*

“May every one in this world become happy, may every one be healthy, may every one see what is good, may no one find unhappiness.” This simple verse points to the common denominator of our lives, the fact of *duḥkha*, unhappiness involved in our normal earthly existence as an ineluctable element. It also says that unhappiness is to be replaced by a state of happiness, which is not lost. And it gently suggests that such a happy condition consists in man’s ability to see what is *bhadra*, what is good in life.

It does not take any stretch of imagination to realize that the life of human beings and all living beings is characterized by a pervasive presence of *duḥkha*. The terms *duḥkha* and its opposite *sukha* derived from *kha* meaning an axlehole or an experience or a condition in general, imply what is not well-rounded or disagreeable, and what is smoothly-moving or agreeable. Ordinarily, *duḥkha* is to be viewed as an unwelcome phenomenon, as something to be kept off anyhow and *sukha* as the inherent and instinctive goal of all human efforts (*sukha-duḥkha-prāpti-parihāra*). The Viṣṇu Purāṇa in Book VI following the beginning of the Sāṃkhya Kārikās recounts in great detail the various kinds of troubles that men are subject to. They are *trividha tāpa* or threefold suffering : *ādhyātmik* pain is intrinsic and inseparable being associated with physical and mental torment, *ādhibhautika* pain is extrinsic, which is natural but incidental caused by outside elements such as birds and beasts, etc., *ādhidaiivika* is supernatural difficulties due to the behaviour of the elemental forces and the adverse influence of the planets. The threefold misery also includes *vyādhi* or bodily pain, *ādhi*, mental trouble and *upādhi* or restrictiveness consisting in external cares and worries.

All these afflictions or *kleśas* ( in one sense ) are remediable in different degrees, but never completely removed despite a persistent struggle to resist



them. Realistically speaking, however, human experience is characterized by both *sukha* and *duḥkha*, pleasant and unpleasant sensations. The totality of human experience is but a series of alternating moments of *sukha* and *duḥkha*.

Man is a thinking animal. If men are conscious of the fact of suffering in their life, more thoughtful men, philosophers and religious teachers of all ages and countries have grappled with the problem of suffering, which is so universal and so subtle in its impact. While one cannot enter into a metaphysical discussion of the question, it will suffice to mention here the two valiant attempts on the part of the Indian thinkers in their encounter with this eternal enigma. While the Indian philosophical tradition is sharply divided into two perspectives with regard to the status of the world in relation to the Ultimate, the *Māyā*-perspective and the *Lilā*-perspective, the solid rank and file of the *ācāryas* other than Śaṅkara maintain the *Lilā*-view, according to which the world is a playful and real manifestation of the creativity of the Absolute and not the outcome of the touch of *Māyā*, the principle of ultimate unreality of phenomenal existence. However, whether one adopts the *Māyā*-view or the *Lilā*-view, the principle of fundamental ignorance (*avidyā*) with her two offsprings, self and suffering is identically involved in the human existence and experience. Thus, while the problem of suffering does not admit of a precise logical solution, it is capable of a final resolution in human experience, the Indian thinkers say.

Although such terms as suffering, pain, *duḥkha* have an unsavoury flavour about them, the Indian tradition like any other religious tradition, believes that suffering which is so integral to man's station on earth is not worthy of disparagement. A snug-smug life without suffering, without the trials of life is stagnant, uncreative. We always see men and women around us manifesting their best potential strength and will in times of great stress and excruciating circumstances.<sup>1</sup> The presence of suffering in man's life can serve as a spur to his ascent to the higher levels of his being and consciousness. As Kahlil Zibran puts it, "Do not the spirits who dwell in the ether envy man his pain?" Man suffers, so that he may realize himself, he may regain himself.

To look at the genesis of the concept of suffering or *duḥkha* with its *two-edged* connotation in the Indian religious tradition, the pre-Upaniṣadic Vedic literature does not give much evidence to the effect that *duḥkha* is anything more than a fact of experience. The Upaniṣads seldom use the term *duḥkha* as such, but they use other equivalent terms such as *roga* (sickness), *śoka* (sorrow), *moha* (delusion),

1. Yes, I must pass them for a nobler life,  
Where I may find the agonies, the strife,  
Of human hearts.

—Keats, *Sleep and Poetry*.



*bhaya* ( fear ), *mṛtyu* ( death ), which shows unmistakably their keen awareness and deep concern about the endemic nature of human suffering. This incidence is related to man's attitude of duality and dividedness and his pathetic obsession with self. He is given to spinning out desires incessantly for his self-aggrandizement in the fleeting world. The Brhadāraṇyaka Upaniṣad mentions three *eṣaṇās* or desires, desire for wealth ( *vittaiṣaṇā* ), desire for worldly and other-worldly ( *aihika* and *pāralaukika* ) power and status ( *lokaiṣaṇā* ) and desire for progeny ( *putraiṣaṇā* ) representing a desire for self-prolongation. Concern with self gives rise to a sense of separateness which gives rise to strife which gives rise to suffering. Thus, suffering is the concomitant of self-actuated desire. *Dvaitam ūrtam*, the Upaniṣad says. Duality is distress. *bhūmā vai sukhām*. Happiness is in wholeness, in harmony, in unity. Paradoxically, in the perception of the Upaniṣadic seers self-involvement leads to self-estrangement. Self acts like a little straw before the eye that obstructs the view of a mountain. One suffers a break from the larger self, the cosmic consciousness. The Upaniṣads say, "*tatra ko mohaḥ ko śokaḥ ekatvam anuṣaśyataḥ, ānandaṁ brahmaṇo vidvān na bibhēti kadācana, mahāntaṁ vibhūm ātmānaṁ matvā dhīro na śocati.*" ( How can there be any delusion, any grief for him who sees oneness in all ?; He who knows the joy of Brahman knows no fear; Having known the great all-pervading Ātman, a wise man is not given to sorrow. ) Mokṣa is the freedom from the insular self, the consummation of self ( *paryāpta-kāma* ) and an absorption into the All ( *brahma-nirvāṇa* ) at the same time. A *mukta* sees himself in others and others in himself ( Gītā, VI, 29 ), and has all his personal desires set at rest ( Gītā, II, 70 ). His selfless attitude is actually an attitude of equanimity towards *sukha* and *duḥkha* ( Gītā, II, 56 ). Such a person is what the Gītā calls a *sthita-prajña*, a man of equipoise and tranquility. He reaches the end of all suffering and sorrow and a state of eternal beatitude, liberation from death and birth with his five *kleśas* or contaminants [ ignorance ( *avidyā* ), egoity ( *asmitā* ), desire ( *rāga* ), clinging ( *abhiniveśa* ), aversion ( *dveṣa* ) ] dissolved. The Kaṭha Upaniṣad especially proclaims the conquest of death, symbolized by Naciketā who does not desire mundane rewards promised by Yama being bent upon receiving spiritual knowledge, and returns safely from the abode of the God of Death, who himself instructs him in the knowledge of immortality.

On the other hand, the Upaniṣads teach the unity of Ātman. All else is transient, Ātman alone is a changeless, ever-enduring reality amidst all fluctuations ( *vikāra* ). Alienation from the center, the plenary blissful consciousness of Self and living on the plane of egocentric desires lead to inner discord, constant dissatisfaction and the consequent perpetuation of *samsāra* with all its travails.

What was implicit in the Upaniṣads becomes explicit in Buddha in terms of the perception of the existential nature of human experience. The term *duḥkha* is for the first time invested by Buddha with such an amazing range of nuances of



meaning, that, no wonder, it has become the main item in the Buddhist stock-in-trade ever since. The young and sensitive Siddhārtha in the first three disturbing experiences realized in one stroke the inevitable association of pain in the human life, as caused by sickness, aging and death, which was relieved and redeemed by the fourth sight creating to him a prospect of putting an end to such a state, though in a different direction. Buddha is rightly called the Great Physician, because he gave to the world his acute diagnosis of the fundamental malady of human existence. *Duḥkha*, suffering or rather disease, the symptom of the chronic disease of desire is the focal point of Buddha's inquiry contained in the Four Noble Truths. The second truth of the origin of suffering is particularly related to the first. We can understand the idea of *duḥkha* in various ways. Disease, decay, death are patent physical ailments ( *duḥkha-duḥkhas* ). On a psychological level, we are constantly projecting ourselves, always striving to acquire something. There is always a lurking fear that it won't be acquired or the fear to lose it when acquired, apart from the fact that our own pleasures of acquisition involve at times others' pain. There is a state of perpetual unrest ; this is due to our ever-growing desires ( *tṛṣṇā* ), thirst, greed. As Shaw says, "There are two tragedies of human life; one, not to get what you want, the other, to get it." Our anxieties, ambitions, sense of insecurity, tensions, frictions, frustrations, all contribute to the *duḥkha*. This is called *vipariṇāmi duḥkha*, *duḥkha* due to impermanence ( *anityatā* ) of things. There is a craving for what is not got and a clinging to what is gotten ( *tṛṣṇā* and *upādāna* ). Yet the intensity of our pleasures quickly diminishes and breeds a passion for new desires. Passion is suffering. The root cause of desire is self, ego ( *atta* ), the firm grip of the sense of our exclusive individuality ( *ātmagraha* ). The *duḥkha* caused by self-concern which is so evenly spread on all our actions, is *saṃkhāra duḥkha*, the most subtle of all *duḥkhas*. One or some or all of these factors generate a general state of unhappiness in man. Preoccupation with self is due to *avidyā*, lack of understanding. It is the original cause of all suffering in accordance with the Law of Dependent Origination ( *pratitya-samutpāda* ).

Nevertheless, these and such other arguments showing the woeful character of all our experiences including the pleasurable ones owing to their transience, are not cogent enough to dissuade men from their pursuit of happiness in their daily lives. Our normal tendency is to dwell on the temporal nature of things and to make most of the pleasures available to us in this shifting world, although it may be like trying to build a house on quicksand. In short, men constantly try to maximize their pleasure and reduce their miseries. Nobody is expected to give up his pleasures just because they are short-lived and are going to give rise to pain. It sounds quite "pessimistic", almost cynical.

Buddha is clearly aware of men's efforts to gain *sukha* and the feeling of a certain measure of *sukha* in their minds. Yet, when he says, *sarvaṃ duḥkham* there



is obviously a deeper meaning. This meaning lies in the Third Truth, the Truth of Nirvāṇa, the possibility of achieving a complete cessation of suffering. It is in the light of the Nirvāṇic perspective that the idea of the Universality of suffering is to be viewed. Buddha implies that even if there were a perponderance of worldly happiness in life, it is still not up to the mark, not fully satisfactory; it is *duḥkha*, 'ill'. It is constricted, transitory, self-based, prompted by considerations of success in the world.

Man goes from one object to another incessantly in search of happiness, but it is not found along the way of self-seeking. The drive of desire is an index of an inner lack of man's being, an expression of a deep-seated feeling of insufficiency, of finiteness. The normal ways of filling the gap turn out to be but abortive attempts to achieve satisfaction. Material acquisitions are not enough to assuage man's inmost anxiety, his innate urge to find irrevocable ease and freedom from the domination of self and complete self-mastery, self-fulfilment. Sri Aurobindo calls this fundamental urge "the constant human aspiration", "the impulse towards perfection", "the primeval longing". Nirvāṇa, the fuller life of selflessness alone ensures the supreme state of rest and felicity, the Buddha says. If no such alternative were available, the above arguments would ofcourse hold good. One cannot and would not relegate the mundane life and experience, because it is infected with suffering. Buddha does not put forward a philosophy of gloom and despair; he does not intend to vitiate what enjoyments are given to us. In fact, Buddha's judgement of man's predicament in the world and its genesis is so realistic in its grasp, and yet it is so optimistic ultimately. All philosophical systems of Indian thought (except Materialism) are soteriological in the end, and therefore, two-dimensional. Without the idea of *nirvāṇa* or *mokṣa*, designating a total extinction of or freedom from suffering, such a suffering-centred philosophy could be dangerous. However, when Buddha speaks of *duḥkha*, it is the expression of his profound understanding of the problem and its solution. It's a fundamental challenge to our conventional attitudes and values.—It should also be pointed out that with all its semblance of pessimism and world-and-life-denial, this system of two perspectives has been in effect not indifferent to the secular concerns of the world, but has actually brought about an enrichment of the mundane level of reality by the innumerable artistic and aesthetic accomplishments of its exponents, both Hīnayāna and Mahāyāna. The world is not rejected, only its ultimate inadequacy is stressed.

In the foregoing discussion an attempt was made to analyze the conceptual aspect of suffering in the Upaniṣads and in Buddha's thought. *Duḥkha* has shades of meaning. It is no doubt a fact of experience in life and its presence may well be recognized. More importantly, however, it is to be understood as a



necessary propaedeutic, therapeutic stage to be gone through in order to reach a state where *duḥkha* is fully and finally overcome. Hence, the focus is now on the practical aspect, that is to say, the various attitudes in relation to the acceptance of suffering as a means to the achievement of the religious purpose, the *summum bonum* of life ( *niḥśreyasa* ).

The way of the Hindu Saṁnyāsin and the Buddhist Bhikṣu, both having sustained traditions, is the life of renunciation and detachment, celibacy homelessness and non-possession. Buddha, impressed as he was by the sight of a holy man, saw it as the Middle Way steering between the extremes of sense-gratification and self-mortification, and founded the community ( *saṅgha* ) of monks and prescribed the eightfold path of self-purification. Śaṅkara in later times established the order of the wandering mendicants as the path to be followed by the *jñānayogins*. It is a course of self-denial and self-control willingly accepted as an avowal to dedicate oneself to the inward life of study, introspection and contemplation. The secluded and contented life of a recluse provides the necessary facility to do so without distraction. Life is a choice of values ( *tāratamya* ) ; it generally involves a foregoing of the lower for the higher<sup>2</sup> ; in some cases forsaking the life of the senses for the sake of the life of the spirit, a self-centred life for a selfless and humanitarian life. This is not necessarily a way of negation, rejection, isolation or escape. A renunciant is self-denying, not world-denying. He never loses contact with the world both before and after his attainment of Knowledge. He has made a choice between *preyas* and *śreyas*, personal happiness and social or universal good. Buddha took to the Great Renunciation for the good and the benefit of humanity.—However, institutionalized monasticism runs the danger of slipping into a life of inaction, self-absorbed withdrawal and a want of concern and affection for the society. Renunciation can be creative-constructive, it can be passive and negative.

If the Hindu and Buddhist renunciation meant a life of reasonable self-discipline and self-denial without excessive suffering, the Jaina view of the life of a Sramana is strikingly austere and ascetic. The Jains believe that man must subject himself to rigorous hardship and bodily privation in order to dissipate the accumulation of karmas, to prevent the influx of new karmas and to isolate the self from karmic matter ( *kaivalya* ). Jainism lays down a strict regimen of moral

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2. "Mundane good is finite, but legitimate, equivocally a stumbling block or a stepping stone to higher things. There is a ladder of ascending goods, all allowable but not all equal or compatible. The ascent runs through a series of decision points where one must choose between the more pleasant and the more virtuous. The more pleasant, the familiar, is a dead end, while the better, the novel is the way up. This is the pattern of transcendence in all life and any decent philosophy has to express it,"—R. Robinson, *Chapters in Indian Civilization Vol. I* ( Iowa, 1970 ), P. 137,



discipline with a great stress on *ahiṃsā*, *jīvadaya*, non-injury, as well as the development of physical endurance called (*tītikṣā*). A Jaina monk is exhorted to take to voluntary starvation and fasting unto death, *sallekhana*. The Jaina religion takes a rather grim and melancholy view of the human body.

The Jaina way of release, despite its emphasis on arduous practice is yet essentially intended to be a path of spiritual purification. In asceticism, on the other hand, the emphasis is on the material and the mundane. The self-inflicted physical torture and rigid severe penances resulting sometimes in all kinds of bizarre practices for which India is known, aim at the achievement of supernatural and occult powers or *siddhis*, in order to astound the people, to command honour and gain power from them. The Purāṇas are full of the stories of *tapasvīs* or ascetic sages such as Viśvāmitra and Durvāsā, who by dint of their relentless austerity (*tapas*) came to secure for themselves a mysterious power to do or undo things. The story of Kauśika, an ascetic of scorching power, burning all those who offend him, finally rebuffed by a woman devoted to her husband, highlights the superiority of virtue over sheer material strength. Also the several anecdotes of the Mahātmās illustrate the futility of the occult powers. The austere way and the ascetic way are to be clearly distinguished, as regards their method and goals.

It will be appropriate to mention two alternative approaches to the concept of suffering, which consist not in denial but in a full-blooded acceptance of what delights the mundane life has to offer. The first is the more radical way of the Tantras advocating emancipation through enjoyment (*bhoga*), of freely and openly embracing the things of the senses and not their renunciation (*tyāga*). The ultimate aim to transcend them is no doubt spiritual, and it is sought to be accomplished by a process of sublimation rather than of subduing. On the other hand, the Purāṇic story of the sage Saubhari, the legendary tale of Śaṅkara and the modern fiction of Hesse's Siddhārtha interestingly illustrate the point of making a comeback to the world, and its eventual surmounting after an enjoyment thereof. We see in the beginning of the Muṇḍakopaniṣad Śaunaka, who is called a *mahāśāla*, a great householder (and so presumably materially quite happy) approaching ṛṣi Aṅgīras for enlightenment. It suggests a state of sensory satiation and spiritual discontent of the seeker. He is now sensitive to the ephemeral nature of the sense-bound life and is ready to bid farewell to it in quest of a life of stable peace and fulfilment out of a maturer understanding and not out of any sense of aversion or revulsion toward the material life. The concepts of *caturvarga* in which the urge for spiritual freedom follows a legitimate pursuit of *artha* and *kāma* and of the *caturāśramas* in which the last two stages of a hermit and a recluse coming after that of a householder, point to the value of a balanced and integrated life in which there is no exclusion of any aspect of human life.



The noblest of all sufferings is the suffering, the self-crucifixion of a saint. Holiness as defined by Prof. A. Chakravarti is "wholeness in action". The holy persons of the world are the embodiments of an all-embracing altruism put into concrete action. They strive strenuously for the betterment of the world of men. They are the karmayogins, the bodhisattvas, who are in fact *eternal sufferers*, by virtue of their deep sensitivity and boundless compassion and love for all living beings. Conze says, "Saints suffer more intensely in the highest heaven than fools in the most terrible hells." In an Ajanta cave there sits a stupendous image of Buddha ; his face reflects from the two angles, a beaming smile full of the joy of his own *prajñā*, as well as profound sorrow out of his *karma*. The two are not incompatible or paradoxical.

Suffering involved in Bhakti need not be elaborated. The vast Bhakti-literature speaks of the intense and passionate yearnings of the bhaktas suffering deep pangs of spiritual separation from their beloved God, exactly like the gopis of Vṛndāvana. Their pining for being united with their Sweet Lord both purifies and reinforces their love towards Kṛṣṇa. It is their inner heart-felt anguish of love that is ultimately blessed with a blissful communion with their Divine Lover.

In a similar strain but on a human plane, Kālidāsa portrays his heroes such as the Yakṣa, Furuvavā, Dasyanta, who suffer in their longing and in remorse when separated from their beloveds. Suffering for them is not self-chastisement, it is self-chastening ; it proves to be a blessing in disguise.

Suffering is also said to give birth to poetry. The creative spirit of the poet or the artist experiences the agony in a pathetic situation so poignantly, that his emotive feeling begins to take a concrete form in words, sounds or lines and figures. The Indian aestheticians regard grief ( *śoka* ) as one of the inner forces that releases a work of pathos ( *kaundā* ). When Vālmiki is overpowered by compassion at the killing of a mating bird, his *śoka* turned into a *śloka*.<sup>3</sup>

The creative process itself is like the throes of birth. And this is true of the Divine Creator as well. In the Nāsadiya and the Puruṣa sūktas of the Rgveda, the Primordial Principle ( *tat ekam, Puruṣa* ) is said to have been seized by

3. *mā niṣāda pratisṭhāmtvañagamah śaśvatīḥ samāḥ*

*gat krauñcamithunād ekam ayadhīḥ kāmamohitam*

( O fowler, may you not find rest for countless years to come, since you killed one of the pair of the krauñca birds engrossed in love. )

*Kāvyaśya ūtmā sa eva arthas tathā ca ūdikaveḥ purā*

*Krauñcadvandvaviyogottihāḥ śoka ślokatvam āgataḥ* ( Dhvanyāloka, I, 5. ).

Also Raghuvamśa XIV. 70



the creative urge ( *kāma* or desire, "the primal seed of consciousness" ) and it was by the power of Its inward fervour ( *tapas* ) or a process of self-sacrifice ( *yajña* ) that the infinite variety of names and forms constituting the cosmos proceeded from the Great Being.

Suffering also confers rich rewards. When Pārvatī wins her chosen Lord Shiva after undergoing many tribulations, Kālidāsa says, *kleśaḥ phalena hi punar navatām vidhatte*. ( Pain, when it matures into the fruit of its attainment, is at once renewed. )<sup>4</sup>

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4. Prospero says in the Tempest,  
If I have too austere punish'd you,  
Your compensation makes amends ;  
.....  
All thy vexations  
Were but my trial of thy love, and thou  
Hast strangely stood the test ; here afore heaven  
I ratify this my rich gift.



Dr. R. Das Gupta

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## Illustrated Persian Epics From Bihar

( 18th and 19th Centuries )

After the decline of the Pāla School of painting which had produced some of the earliest illustrated manuscripts in India there is a set back in the art of book illustration in Bihar for sometime, during the early days of Turkish inroads and occupation. With the gradual strengthening of Muslim rule in Bihar there is a fresh wave of manuscript painting after a lapse of about a couple of centuries.

The study of illustrated Bihari\* Manuscripts of the mediaeval period is a new one.

We have used the term to designate the manuscripts that had been produced in Bihar during the mediaeval period which roughly corresponds to the period of Muslim rule in India. The name Bihar was first given by the Muslims after their conquest of the land around Nālandā which they called Hissār-é-Bihar. The walled University complex of Nālandā had appeared to the conquerors to be a fort and hence the nomenclature. Gradually the name Bihar was applied to the enlarged area of domination which roughly corresponded to that of the present province of Bihar. In the field of manuscript painting, Bihar had evolved a definite school since the 18th century, specially in regard to Islamic manuscripts. The present manuscripts are examples of this very school. Like other Mughal provinces Bihar also responded to the growth of provincial schools of Mughal painting after the decline of the Imperial school at Delhi. But even earlier, Bihar had produced illustrated manuscripts in contemporary North Indian schools with a local touch ofcourse. In the 14th century an illustrated copy the romance Chandaban of Maulana Daud was produced in Bihar.<sup>1</sup> It is the

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\* The term "Bihari" is a novel one which had gained currency during the freedom struggle in the neighbouring country of Bangladesh. In that context, however, the term "Bihari" had gained a notoriety as the Bihari emigrants had resisted the freedom struggle of the Bangladesh people. In the Indian context, however, the term Bihari is free from such stigma. The use of the term in this writing has a geographical and ethnic connotation only.

1. Diwakar R. R., (ed.) Bihar Through the Ages, p. 427 Orient Longmans.



story of love between Lorik and Candra which had become an all India property and had inspired similar illustrated manuscripts in other regions of India as well.

Informations regarding book-illustration are, however, still scanty as enough researches have not been done in this sphere. Yet we find from extant examples that the art was practised in Bihar and was patronised by Hindus and Muslims alike. While the Bhāgavat Book X, the Rāmāyaṇa and the different portions of the Mahābhārata were illustrated for the Hindu clientele, their Muslim counterparts preferred illustrated copies of the Shah Namah, the Sikandar Namah, the Gulistan and minor works like the Sher-ul Bayan. Due to the wide prevalence of Persian as the language of administration and culture its classics were popular among the aristocracy of Bihar comprising of Hindus and Muslims. Again, among the classics the Shah Namah of Fardusi tops the list only to be followed by the Sikandar Namah. Both were illustrated during the various periods coming down to the late 18th and early 19th century. Specimens of illustrated copies of these two works belonging to different periods have been found from various parts of Bihar. The number of yet undiscovered copies of such manuscripts must be much higher as compared to the known examples. The Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, Patna, possesses quite a number of such manuscripts belonging to different periods. For our present study we plan to restrict ourselves to study of the Shah Namah manuscript (1837 A. D.) from Barari deposited at the Khuda Bakhsh Library, another Shah Namah deposited at the same place and some stray leaves from a private collection pertaining to the Shah Namah and the Sikandar Namah. Stylistically all the examples belong to a group headed by the Barari Shah Namah mentioned above. These are done in a style which is remarkable for its directness of narration and boldness of presentation. Being a late school it had absorbed traits from many an Indian school of earlier epochs as well as from contemporary European prints. The said school seem to have absorbed some features in portraiture of important personages from the contemporary Persian Style of Tehran known as the Qajar style.<sup>2</sup>

An illustrated copy of the Razm-Namah in the above style was also produced at Patna in the late 18th century. It is said to have been sold by the owners to the National Museum, New Delhi only a few years back.\* The Razm-Namah was first illustrated in the Akbar period for the emperor himself.<sup>3</sup> Later on the

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\* I am thankful to Prof. Ananda Krishna, Head of the Deptt. of Art and Architecture, B. H. U. for the above information.

2. Robinson, B. W., Persian Painting, Victoria and Albert Museum, London, 1952. pl. 32.

3. Abdul Fazal Allami : Ain-i-Akbari, p. 115.



work was gifted by Muhammad Shah to Maharaja Sawai Jai Singh.<sup>4</sup> (Since then the Akbari manuscript is in the personal collection of the Rajas of Jaipur and is popularly known as the Jaipur Razm-Namah. Stylistically, the Razm-Namah forms one group along with the Bankipur (Patna) Timur-Namah and the South Kensington Akbar Namah<sup>5</sup> which were produced after the Hamza Namah paintings. Being a Hindu<sup>6</sup> work Hindu artists were chiefly employed for its illumination as they were more familiar with the mythology and the imagery associated with Hindu traditions. Among the artists employed were the great Hindu painters Daswant, Basawan and Lal.<sup>7</sup> Of them Daswant executed twentyfour<sup>8</sup> and Lal produced twenty nine painting.)

The most popular text to be illustrated by Bihar artists was the Shah Namah of Fardusi. It ranks among the classics of world literature and was immensely popular with miniaturists all over the Islamic world. Its narrative character offered a painter much of flight of fancy. Each country has its own type of Shah Namah paintings though the subject matter remains the same. In India too the Shah Namah had been painted at different periods and in far flung regions of the country. The large variety of Shah Namah paintings have also offered us glimpses into the actual culture of the region or period that produced the illustrations. Though the characters remain unchanged their surroundings and associates are depicted by the artist according to his own milieu and like his own people. For comparing the illustrations mentioned in this paper reference will be made to the English translation of the Shah Namah by Alexander Rogers.

The Shah Namah is the epic creation of the doyen of Persian literature, Fardusi, "Fardusi whose real name was Abul-Karim-al-Mansur, was born in the village of Shadab, in the district of Tus and Province of Khurasan about the year of the Hejira (Hijri) 320 (A. D. 932) and took the name of Fardusi either because his father was the gardner of a garden called Fardus (Paradise) or from the exclamation of Sultan Mahmud, when he visited the court of the latter at Gazni, on hearing some extemporised verse he recited in praise of Ayaz, a favourite slave of the Sultan : Thou hast made my Court as resplendant as Fardus".<sup>9</sup>

The Shah Namah is the versified traditional history of Iran from the mythical beginning down to the overthrow of Yazdgird by Muslim Arabs (651 A. D.).<sup>10</sup>

4. Brown, P. Indian Painting under the Mughals p. 103.

5. Ibid, p. 112.

6. Ibid, p. 115

7. Ibid, p. 115

8. Ibid, p. 122

9. Ibid, p. 123

10. Rogers, A. The Shah Namah of Fardusi, p. X, Indian Edition, 1973, Delhi.



But the credit of the composition does not depend on the genius of Fardusi alone as he had put to verse an older edition of the narrative and had considerably enlarged it. Among the scholars who preceded Fardusi the most important was Dikhan Danishwar who had put the traditional history of Iran together in a work named *Khvatai-Namah* or *Book of Kings*. This work was however in Pahlavi language or Middle Persian.<sup>11</sup> After the Arab conquest of Iran and when the Samani dynasty came to the throne in the 9th and 10th centuries A. D. the work of compilation was carried on. During the rule of Nuh II ( 976 A. D. ) the famous poet Dakiki was entrusted with the task of versifying the work. But soon he was mysteriously murdered and the mantle fell on Fardusi. In his thirtysixth year Fardusi undertook the writing of the epic. By 1010 A. D. after about thirty years of hard-work it was completed and was presented to Mahmud Ghaznavi whose court he adorned along with Al-Biruni. Mahmud had "promised to pay Fardusi. 1000 mishkals of gold equivalent to about £ 670, for every thousand couplets that he wrote Fardusi unwisely preferred to be paid on the completion of his work, but when he had accomplished it, Mahmud sent him in place of about £ 40,000, which he should accordingly have received, 60,000, silver dihras, or about £ 2600. It is related that he was at the time in a public bath, and that enraged at the Sultan's breach of faith, he gave a third to the keeper of the bath, a third to the messenger who brought the money, and the remainder to a man who brought him some sharbet. This being reported, probably in an exaggerated form to the Sultan, Mahmud ordered him to be trampled to death by an elephant, but relented on Fardusi's throwing himself at his feet. The latter, however, enraged at his treatment, determined to flee from Ghazni, and did so, leaving with Ayaz what was said to be a panegyric on the monarch, but in reality was a spirited satire on him. Managing escape, the poet wandered about to Herat, Baghdad and other places, persued by Mahmud's spite, untill he at last relented and ordered the sum originally promised to be sent to him. It was too late, however, for the messenger entered one gate of his town whilst Fardusi's body was being borne out of the opposite for burial.<sup>12</sup>

The *Shah Namah* as a literary work became popular in India with the coming of the Muslims most of whom had absorbed Iranian culture as a mark of refinement before their entry into India. In a like manner the other epic of Persian language the *Sikandar Namah* (*Iskandar Namah*) too became popular, in India specially among the aristocracy comprising mostly of foreign Muslims. These two works which had inspired painting in Iran and many other Islamic centers in Central Asia, also inspired Indian book-illustrators from the early period of Islamic

11. Lillys, W : *Oriental Miniatures, Persian, Indian, Turkish* ed. Mahler, J. C. Introduction p. 12. Charles E. Tuttle Co, Inc. London 1965.

12. Ghirsmann, R : *Iran ; Pelican Archaeology Series Pelican Book A 299 ; p. 309.*



rule in the country. These two works were illustrated as early as the Sultanate period of Indian History. In producing these the joint efforts of Indian as well as Iranian and Central Asian artists had been very successful. Before we discuss the early and famous copies of Indian examples of the illustrated Shah Namah and Sikandar Namah it will not be out of place to describe some of the more well-known examples of these two works produced outside India before any such attempt was made in this country.

Illustrated copies of the Shah Namah produced at Iranian and Central Asian centres today lie scattered all over the world in important libraries, museums and private collections. Though most of the specimens deposited in public institutions are known and some of them have also been published an equally great number still remain unnoticed in various private and public collections of Iran, Central Asia, Afghanistan, Pakistan and India. Among the more well known copies of the Shah Namah mention may be made of the following. In the inventory the examples have been arranged in a chronological sequence.

### *Illustrated Shah Namah Manuscripts.*<sup>13</sup>

1. Shah Namah : Painted at Tabriz, 1341 A. D. Fogg Art Museum, Cambridge, Mass. U. S. A.
2. do : Painted at Shiraz, 1380 A. D. Fogg Art Museum.
3. do : Painted at Herat for Bey Shungur Mirza, 1430 A. D. Gulistan Palace Library, Tehran.
4. do : Painted at Tabriz for Shah Tamasp, 1537 A. D. Private collection of Arthur H. Houghton Jr. New York.
5. do : Painted at Shiraz, Second Half of the 16th century. Metropolitan Mus. of Art, New York.
6. do : Painted in 1614 A. D. Spencer Collection Public Library, New York.
7. do : Painted in 1648 A. D. by Muhammad Hakim, at Husayani for the library of Khan Ali Shan Qarajaghai Khan, of Mashhad shrine. Windsor Castle MS A/6.
8. do : ( Manuk MS ) Fitzwilliam Museum MS 22/1948. Some folios are also in the British Museum.
9. do : The Dunimarle Shah Namah : Painted in 1446 A. D. for Sultan Muhammad bin Murtaza local ruler of Mazandaran.

13. Rogers, A, op. cit. pp. X-XI.



10. Sah Namah : 1457 A. D. Late example of Timuri style of Shiraz.
11. do : India Office Library, London. Persian MS 133, dated 1560, Painted by Hasan bin Muhammad Ahsan,
12. do : Persian MS. 3540. Formerly the property of Warren Hastings,
13. do : Persian M.S. 1256.<sup>14</sup>
14. do : Last quarter of the 14th century. Painted in India. Four-Folios at the Bharat Kala Bhawan, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi.<sup>15</sup>
15. do : Ajit Ghosh Collection, Calcutta 1180-1220 47folios of illustration.<sup>16</sup>

The Sikandar Namah also known as the Iskandar Namah is one of the immortal narrative poems in Persian written on the lines of the Shah Namah of Fardusi. The writer of the Sikandar Namah was Nizami Ganjavi. The author had many a name and title and was known as Ganjavi after his home town Ganja in Azarbaijan in present day U. S. S. R. The pioneer and most famous translation of the work in any European language was by Wilhelm Bacher in German language under the title Nizamis Leben und Werke. It was published from Gottingen in the year 1871.

The full name of Nizami was Ahmed bin Yusuf bin Muayyad. But according to Prof. Saidi Nafisi of Tehran Nizami was actually known as Ilyas bin Yusuf bin Zaki bin Muayyad though he was more well-known as Nizami. This name was derived from Nizamuddin, which was his Laqab i. e. a name given by admirers of his poetry. But according to others his Laqab was Jamaluddin. Nizami was also known by his Kunnyah name Abu Muhammad.

The exact dates of his birth and death are disputed. Traditionally he was born in Hijri 540 and died in his home town in the year 606 of the same era. But the Hijri followed there was Iran's own era and was different from the Arabic one. Nizam's tomb is protected as a national monument by the government of the U. S. S. R. and his tombstone erected by the said authority bears the dates 535 Hijri for his birth and 599 for his death. The great poet was born during the rule of the local Seljuk ruler Qazal-as-Salam.

Nizami's many works include a number of Namah type of compositions and some romantic narrative poems. The most famous of his works being—

1. Art of Islam : Grube, E. J., Landmarks of the World's Art pp, 124-28 ; Paul Hamlyn, London, 1966.
15. Robinson, B. W. : Persian painting pp. 7-8 ( for items nos. 7 to 13).
16. Motichandra and Khandalvala, K : New Documents On Indian Painting, Bombay.



1. The Khamse
2. Iskandar Namah ( Sikandar Namah )
3. Bahram Namah
4. Sharaf Namah
5. Iqbal Namah
6. Diwan-e-Nizami
7. Makhzan-ul-Asrar
8. Khusru va Shirin
9. Laila va Majnun
10. Masanavi Vais va Ramin\*

Like the Shah Namah the Sikandar Namah was also popular among the Indian Muslim aristocracy from the beginning of the Sultanate rule. Persian classics were assiduously copied and illustrated in India during the entire range of Muslim rule in the country. "The Sikandar Namah forms a part of the Khamseh of Nizami and describes the adventures of Alexander the Great over land and sea."<sup>17</sup> Alexander's exploits over land were described by Nizami under the heading "Barri" while those across the seas were known as "Bahri" (maritime). The popularity of this work even among the rulers goes back to the Tughlaq period as observed of Muhammad Tughlaq. "He knew by heart a good deal of Persian Poetry and understood it well. In his epistles he showed himself skilled in metaphor, and frequently quoted Persian verse. He was well acquainted with the Sikandar Namah and also with the Bum-i-Salim Nama and the Tarikh-i-Mahmudi."<sup>18</sup> Sher Shah Sur who had overthrown Humayun was also renowned for committing to memory classics like the Gulistan, the Bustan and the Sikandar Namah.

In spite of its popularity illustrated copies of the Sikandar Namah from the Sultanate period are not many. The earliest extant miniatures of the Sikandar Namah from India belong to the last quarter of the 15th Century. This group<sup>19</sup> of paintings have been stylistically bracketed with the Tübingen Hamaza Namah<sup>20</sup>

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\* The above information regarding the life and works of Nizami have been derived from the work *Diwane-qasaid va Ghazliate Nizami* by Prof. Saidi Nafisi of Tehran. This book was published in 1960 by Chapkhane Rangin and was released by Furugi Booksellers, Tharan. I am thankful to Mr. Suleman Abbas, Head of the Department of Persian, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi for the help in gathering informations from the above work in Persian.

17. Blochet, E : On a Book of Kings about 1200 A. D. *Rupam* No. 41, p. 3, January 1930, Calcutta, Editor O. C. Ganguly.

18. Motichandra and Khandalavala, K. op. cit. p. 47.

19. Elliot and Dawson : *The History of India As Told by Its Own Historians* Vol. III, Bombay, n. d. p. 236.

20. Motichandra and Khandalavala op. cit. p. 47



and the Shah Namah from the Bharat Kala Bhavan,<sup>21</sup> Varanasi mentioned above. They all belong to the same period and might have been painted in or around Delhi and not at Mandu, Jaunpur or in Gujrat.<sup>22</sup> The miniatures of this early group are not of very high standard and might have been produced for middle class clientele. The growth of Persian literary tradition in and around Delhi resulted in the production of a large number of illustrated manuscripts of varying standards of workmanship." The motivating desire is literary interest and not a religious one which was dominant in the case of the illustrated Jaina manuscripts.<sup>23</sup>

The earliest Indian Sikandar Namah manuscripts mentioned above was first noticed Khandelavala and Motichandra and had been mentioned by in the Journal of the Prince of Wales Museum, Bombay,<sup>24</sup> Later on a folio in the same style and bearing on the same subject was mentioned by Cary Welch and Milo Beach.<sup>25</sup> The first set was however put in the middle of the 15th Century by Ettinghausen. The Portland Art Museum, Portland, Oregon, U. S. A. has also a folio of the Sikandar Namah of about 1500 A. D. The lone folio shows a group of physicians attending upon a dignitary.<sup>26</sup>

In Bihar too the Sikandar Namah was a popular subject of manuscript painting in various ages. Of these the earliest copy comes from Rasulpur in Muzaffarpur district of North Bihar. Later copies in the style of the Barari Shah Namah mentioned above have been found from central and Western Bihar. The folios were extraordinary large and they applied glaze or varnish after the text has been written and paintings executed.

As has been said earlier during the period under review the most popular secular subject for manuscript illustration were the Persian epics Shah Namah and the Sikandar Namah of which several copies had been found from Bihar and its environs in the West. A dated copy of the Shah Namah along with an identical copy of the Shah Namah are deposited at the K. B. L. Patna. Some folios of another Shah Namah and Sikandar Namah from Western Bihar were noticed by the author at Varanasi. Such folios were seen in the possession of

21. Ibid. p. 55

22. Ibid. p. 47

23. Ibid. p. 55

24. Khandelavala, K and Motichandra : Three New Documents of Indian Painting, P. O. W. Museum, Bulletin No. 7, 1959-62, pp. 31-34.

25. Cary Welch, S. and Milo Beach-Gods Thrones and Peacocks, fig. 2. Published by the Asia Society Inc. 1965 U. S. A.

26. The Mughal and Deccani Schools : Indian Miniature Painting from the Collection of Edwin Binney, 3rd. Portland Art Museum, Cat. No. 5, Portland Oregon, U.S.A.



Shri N. K. Dvivedi a dealer in old books and manuscript at Varanasi. Since the above sets were fragmentary no idea of their exact provenance or date of execution could be formed. But stylistically these manuscripts fall in the same group to which the K. B. L. manuscripts belong. And hence it is not difficult to date them. They must have been produced by the first quarters of the 19th century at the latest. These manuscripts can however be subdivided in the following manner :

Group "A"	Shah Namah M S. No. 3673		
	" " M S. No. 3786	1837 A. D.	Kuda Bakhsh
	" " M S. No. 2770	From Barari	Oriental
	" " Vols. A and B	vill. Patna	Public Library, Patna.
Group "B"	Sikandar Namah	Stray folios from Western Bihar	
Group "C"	Razm Namah	M S. from Patna, National Museum, New Delhi.	
Group "D"	Shah Nama M S. No. P IX. 3/62/S.	Sayaji Rao Gaikwad Library, B. H. U., Varanasi.	

Manuscripts of this period betray influence of Sikh, Pahari and Mughal Schools of various periods. Some of them however show an incongruous mixture of styles. Most of them are in a very good state of preservation, thus revealing their comparatively recent origin. In the curious blending of different styles the "Company" or the "Patna" School has also been assimilated "But the most common is the late Mughal style when portrait profiles began to be framed in a green halo with gold borders and radiating rays. European architectural and tree types also appear in the Shah Namah manuscripts. But the general layout of the above manuscripts are typically Persian, especially like the Jami-al-Tawarikh of A. D. 1596 from the Gulistan Imperial Library, Tehran. The Bihar manuscripts thus show the immense influence of Persian painting through Mughal and sometimes through original Persian manuscript illustrations. Bihar, specially Patna and its neighbourhood being stronghold of Islamic culture from the 13th century onwards, the art of ms. painting continued till the early 19th century."<sup>27</sup> The importance of the Shah Namah set ( Nos. 3673 and 3786 ) is mainly due to the fact that though produced as late as A. D. 1837 at Patna they not only preserved much of early Mughal and Persian elements but also European influence of the Company school. Some of the scores of volumes appear just as if copies from the Jami-al-Tawarikh ( A. D. 1596 ) manuscript from the Gulistan Imperial Library, Tehran. The only difference is that the Shah Namah set in question is not as masterly a work as the above one, which is one of the best specimens of the Akbar school of miniatures. But in most of the folios we find a great deal of freedom of fancy of

27. Das Gupta R., Eastern India Manuscript Painting, p. 46, Bombay 1972.



the Bihar artist resulting in a blend of early Mughal and European styles. European influence is traceable mostly in the treatment of the distant landscape, the clear pale blue for the sky and tall eucalyptus-like trees as seen in the typical products of the Patna School. The greatest degree of individuality on the part of the artist lies in the treatment of the human and especially the female figures. They being large, the costume and jewellery are painted in considerable detail and resemble to a great extent the ivory paintings of the Delhi. Typically they are all in three-quarter profile and are well modelled by means of very fine lines of Khat Pandaz. The general treatment of the landscape is entirely Persian. The rock formation is vertical and crooked, the layers and prisms of stone being well shaded. Depth is attained by spacing and overlapping of mountain ranges and by inserting figures of cavaliers etc. in the valleys thus formed. The ground is monochrome green often shown overgrown with tufts of grass and wild flowers. The landscapes are however invariably in a bird's eye view. Watery surfaces are frequently shown as flat sheets of blue, often with a few undulating white lines painted on. The script area trespasses into the painted area but is always bordered in crimson and gold. The various paragraphs are separated by vertical bands of green.

The following remarks of André Goddard on the Jami-al-Tawarikh are equally applicable in general to our Shah Namah set from Patna. In both the cases, in spite of the apparent similarity to Persian painting the manuscript has a definitely Indian atmosphere about them. "Examination of miniatures which adorn this work, or rather what remains of it, would reveal, if we did not know already that we have left Iran, its pure clear and soft light and its elegant grace. We are in the land of crowds and agitation. People are hurrying, galloping, colliding rushing against one another. This is a violent art, in which grace is rarely found..... The composition ( of battle scenes ) as will be readily seen, has but the disorderly action and the violence, it may be remarked, is combined in a curious way with the most sensitive love of nature... The posture of these men and their gestures reveal a very Indian and a very remarkable fondness for truthful expression" (André Goddard, *Iran : Persian Miniatures*, New York Graphic Society, p. 25). In architecture, we have the encampments and Kanāts of the early Mughal period, some in fanciful Moorish style with domes, towers and battlements. But the contemporary Georgian British architecture with masonry bridges and Church-like structures also exist (cf. Ms. No. 3673). Even the British men-of-war and ships flying the Union Jack have been incorporated from some Murshidabad original. Love of nature is seen from the sympathetic treatment of the dwellers of the forests and also of the bird life. The ducks diving for food in the pools are interesting but are toy-like in character. Love of a lavish and sensual life is reflected in the 'Lovers' enjoying a dance party and drinks



(cf. Ms. No 3786). This particular scene too is inspired by some set scheme, typical of and coming from the Jami-al-Tawarikh manuscript.

Pl. I



Shah Namah MS. Bihar  
Rustam Vanquishing the Khakan of China.





Sikandar Namah MS Bihar

Sikandar surprised to see his own portrait at the Court of queen.

The most striking point about the above illustrations is their similarity to Sikh painting which in its turn belonged to a decadent Pahari School. It is not improbable that some artists trained in the Sikh style might have executed them.



Patna City, being the birth place of Guru Govind Singh, has ever since been a place of pilgrimage for the Sikhs. Around the Gurudwara a nucleus of Sikh learning and art had possibly grown and an itinerant Sikh artist might as well have been employed for the production of the Barari Shah Namah. The paintings are in every way akin to the Sikh Painting of the Punjab. In brief they have a flatness and are heavily outlined. The typically Punjabi costume is used for the female figures. They also stand almost at attention as do the figures in Sikh miniatures. The spirit of a warring community is reflected in the violent battle scenes. The style of this manuscript is very expressive though simple and conspicuously late. Not much care for perspective has been taken which if it at all exists, is linear. Hieratic scaling has been followed in case of human figures. Here too as in other Bihari manuscripts the necks of horses, parts of weapons and standards and spears intrude in the script area. Hashiyas are very simple, only a cluster of multi-coloured lines.

The landscape is always hilly and is represented by mounds in different colours but each in monochrome. The various stages and peaks are denoted by small, low arched curves topped by a line of flowers and leaves. The composition is vertical. The foreground is generally a pale green and also has curves topped by lines of flowers. Sometimes wedges of a different colour, usually vermillion indicate soil and thus help to break the monotony of the stereotyped foreground. The latter always occupies one third of the entire area as do the hills while the horizon occupies the rest. While white ribbon like clouds meander across the dark blue sky, the water is indicated by flat washes of gray or silver. An occasional serpentine line is also added. In the otherwise flat painting, a little shading is added, usually around the eyes, to model the face. The animal painting is also fine (P. 431, Vol. B). The trees are both of the willowy as well as the large-leaved type. In the case of latter their wide crowns of green are filled in with leaves in yellow. Shading is done around the trunks and also at the hollows of the tree and it imparts a solidity to them (P. 354 rev., Vol. B). Fire is a halo-like blaze of deep vermillion with a number of irregular radiating lines in red. Perspective in the case of interior scenes is faulty and the sleeping woman seems as though suspended in mid-air (p. 56 ob., Vol. A). Whenever an important person has to be depicted this is done against a black, back ground, (pls. 13 and 27, Vol. A). Animals are like painted toys and are arranged on the hills (P. 27 rev., Vol. A). The figures of Firdausi and Sultan Mahmood (pl rev. Vol. A) who were responsible for the writing of the Shah Namah are shown in great detail. Modelling has been attained with patches of colour on the faces as in Kalighat paintings of the 19th century.<sup>28</sup> But in the staring frontal eyes and the long well trimmed

28. Ibid : P, 49 50.



beards and brocaded robes one bears an echo of the Qajar school of painting of Iran of the same period.<sup>29</sup> The Qajar school was greatly influenced by contemporary European styles and realism in portraiture was the key note. The faces were heavily shaded with a view to moodelling but when gone too far in this direction the result was not very pleasing. But fortunately the faces of Sultan Mahmud and Fardusi though not portraits, were shaded with restraint and the effect is not unpleasant.

After the general analysis of 18th-19th century Bihari School of manuscripts painting we propose to discuss the available examples of painting from the different sets of Shah Namah and Sikandar Namah manuscripts. In doing so we propose to discuss illustrations from each set separately so that it is easy to find out the common traits as well as specialities noticed in any particular set of paintings.

### NOTES ON ILLUSTRATIONS GROUP A:

Shah Namah manuscripts No. 2770 A from Khuda Bakhsh Oriental Public Library, Patna :

Folio No. 9 : Illustration No. 1 : Sultan Muhamud and Fardusi (i) This illustration from the opening page of the Barari manuscripts of the Shah Namah shows Sultan Mahamud (Ghaznavi) requesting Fardusi to compose the Shah Namah. As is evident the illustrations of these historic characters are purely imaginary but they are influenced in their conception and details by contemporary fashion and ideas. Framed by a cusped arch under a rolled up curtain the great decision takes place. Figures of the Sultan and of the poet are larger than those of attendants due to heiratic scaling as their larger size proclaims their exalted status. The lesser the importance of a person the smaller is the size of his figure as is seen in the almost toylike size the gatekeeper posed below the Sultan's throne. Other characters are a little larger and include a dignitary counting the rosary (evidently the quazi) and two attractive youths waving peacock tail fly whisks for the monarch. The face of the dignitary is almost a portrait though others have impersonal visaged. There is an echo of the Qajar style of contemporary Iran in the heavily modelled faces of the Sultan and the poet.

Shah Namah Manuscript No. 2770 A Folio No. 27, Ill No.

(ii) *Faridun and Zuhak* : The illustration concerns an important episode from the early part of the Shah Namah where Faridun is described as ridding the land of the evil ruler Zuhak, the Arab and imprisoning the latter perpetually, on the Damavand mountain (Rogers p. 60).

29 . Robinson : op. cit. pl. 32.



The illustration has remained faithful to the description adding however a little of his fancy in the treatment of the torture to Zuhak. Zuhak is shown hung head downwards from a large leafy tree and is easily identifiable by the twin serpents emanating from his shoulders. To set off the figure of Zuhak the area behind him has been painted lead gray to indicate a cavern as well as to offer colour contrast to the brightly attired victim. Other personages in the scene include Faridun on horse back and his attendants and the executioner. Two of the men are depicted with faces met with in Sikh painting with closely bound beards and in typical costumes of the school. The mountainous landscape is ably depicted by means of a ring of peaks done like tapering and hills and painted in many colours. On a far off peak a toy like tiger perches. The sky is mono-chrome but is relieved by the suggestion of clouds done with the help of a few wavy lines in white.

(iii) *Release of Bezan from confinement by Rustam :*

Shah Namah Manuscript no. 2770 A, Folio No. 197, Illustration No. 27.

The dramatic incident of the release of Bezan by Rustam from the ditch where the former had been imprisoned by orders of Afrasiab has been depicted with restraint and economy of figures. Against a rocky landscape the drama takes place as Bezan is being pulled out by his rescuer Rustam who had been sent by Kai Khusru the King of the Iranians. Near the ditch burns the fire signal and Manijah the beloved of Bezan stands with thankfulness in her eyes for Rustam and his men (Rogers, p. 227). But the high borne lady restrains her feelings and stands in rapt silence without any exhibition of her elation. The strong and heavily built Rustam leans down to pull the victim out of the ditch which he does with perfect ease. Rustam is identifiable by his leopard skin head dress. He and his seven attendants are all figures like in Sikh Paintings complete with minute details. Their faces are heavily modelled in a like manner. The modelling is to be specially seen around the eyes and the chin. The horizon is a serrated arch filled in with tiny flowering shrubs and hills are again like ant Hills as is typical with 18th century Bihari School of miniatures.

( iv ) *Behram Gur hunting* : Shah Namah MS. No. 2770B Folio No. 431a

Any mention of Behram Gur hunting conjures up the vision of Azadah the slave girl accompanying the prince and playing upon the lute during the hunt. The hero had showed his skill in hunting by gratifying the peculiar request of his favourite slave girl who ultimately is trampled to death under a dromedary by her master.

But here the illustration is rather unusual where Azadah is absent and Behram Gur is hunting in the company of men. The hero is shown against a wide grass-



land dotted with flowering plants which abounds in wild asses. The fleeing wild asses have little ornaments put around their necks which evidently have been fastened around their necks by orders of Behram Gur as is seen from the figure of a wild ass who has been captured by the men of the prince and are fastening an ornament around its neck. The stately figure of Behram Gur seated on his horse and shaded by the royal parasol by an attendant, dominates the composition. Faces of men except for Behram Gur are of the Sikh School type as is wont with Bihari paintings of this group. The treatment of the frightened and fleeing animals is lively and faithful. This incident however is not mentioned in Roger's translation though the episode with Azadah is mentioned on page No. 403.

( v ) *Sikandar's encounter with the queen :*

Shah Namah manuscript No. 2770 B, Folio No. 375 Sl. No. 46.

The adventures of Sikander find a place of honour in the Shah Namah as he is associated in marriage with Rao Shanak, the daughter of Dara ( Rogers p. 373 ). After vanquishing Iran Sikandar proceeded for further conquests. His exploits are detailed in the Sikandar Namah which consists of two parts viz. "Barri" or adventures over land and "Bahri" or "across the seas". The journeys are fanciful and often contain more fiction than fact. There is mention of the hero's visit to Harum, the land of Amazons where reigned a queen. There he rested for a month and thence he proceeded in search of the water of life ( Rogers p. 387 ).

The illustration is a detail from the visit to Harum which does not find a place in the Shah Namah proper. It is fit for the Sikandar Namah which deals exclusively with the exploits of Sikandar. Evidently the artist of this Shah Namah painted the scene in question based on a copy of Sikandar Namah which has greater details concerning the life of the hero.

In the illustration the queen is shown sitting in audience on a terrace attended by females one of whom shows Sikander a portrait of his which fills him with immense surprise. The setting is of an interior terrace from behind which are visible large leafy trees. The pavilion in which the queen sits is a low domed structure with deep overhanging Chajjas. Multifoiled cusped niches adorned the walls. An awning fringed with pearls is the only decoration under which is placed the queen's low stool. Two types of female dresses are shown. The majority, including the queen is shown in the conventional Turki costume of trousers, a long coat topped by a shorter coat and a cap. The other type is more Indian and evidently depicts the actual fashion of the day. It consists of a long dress ( like a Peshwaz ) with a thin sheet draped over the shoulders and the head. Faces of women are either in profile or in three quarter profile. In this scene also heiratic scaling is resorted to in depicting the queen and Sikander.



Facial modelling is much less here in comparison to the illustrations in the Shah Nama set No. 2770 A., and evidently the two sets are works of two different persons or groups of artists. In the preceding illustration of Behram Gur and his entourage also the same callousness for shading and modelling is noticed.

*Group B* : In this group three typical examples have been chosen and illustrated. They are from the group of stray manuscript folios the author had chanced to see with Sri N. K. Dwivedi, dealer in old books and manuscripts at Varanasi.

( vi ) *Sikander and the Queen* : The episode has already been described above under Group A ( v ). The background for the terrace here is mountainous and the pavilion is but a textile awning. Smoothly rolling mountain cliffs frame the horizon. Different ranges of the mountain are done in different colours. The foreground is like in Group A. Tree is done in clutches of colour and leaves are not separately delineated. In the illustration of Group B, shading of the face is almost absent though other details of costume, men's beards etc. as in Group A are maintained. The treatment of mountains and rocky areas are however totally different in the two groups.

(iii) *The killing by Isfandiyar of a female magician*

The scene depicts of the killing of a sorceress by the hero Isfandiyar. The female magician had first charmed the hero in the guise of fair young Turki girl. But when the hero challenged her she changed her forms many a time and when commanded to reveal her real form she came out in her true colour. This has been ably depicted as well as the pleasant setting by a brook where they had first met. The lute of the enchantress still lies nearby. The moment Isfandiyar smote her with an Indian sword her face turned black and hair turned snowy white thus exposing her heinous form. So great was the impact of the witch's spell that the sky turned black as her head rolled off under the stroke of the bronze bodied ( Ruintan ) hero's scimitar. Thus the world was rid of the evil influence of the enchantress. ( Rogers pp. 145-56 ).

Stylistically the illustration has nothing new to offer. The face of the enchantress is depicted in a hideous manner since the hero has already struck her with the sword. The large tree betrays a little European element in the shaded treatment of the leafy crown. It is contrast to the usual Indian manner where the artist attempts to depict the folios in detail. The treatment of the hero's horse is spirited. It has retained the highly arched neck and curved flanks derived from Persian School. Such horses have been shown in Indian painting since the inception of the Sultanate rule.



*Illustration No. viii Rustam captures the Khākan of China.*

The illustration shows Rustam securing the Khākan (ruler) of China in his noose and pulling him down from his mount the white elephant. The scene is set in a mountainous region where the combat takes place. Against the background of the mountain is portrayed the white elephant ridden by the Khākan and accompanied by a weapon bearer and the elephant driver. Rustam turns round sitting astride his prancing horse as he gives a violent pull to the other end of the noose held by him. The Khākan succumbs to the pull and scrambles down his mount. Others watch helplessly.

From behind the undulating ranges are visible the semi-concealed figures of Rustam's followers watching triumphantly and upholding their banners. The treatment of the landscape and the sky area is in the usual manner of the School. Among an assemblage of static figures those of Rustam and his lively horse really stand out and draw our attention. Rustam's face is portrait like though there is no such heavy modelling of the Group "A".

*Group C*: A copy of the Shah Namah in the same style and of the same period is also deposited and the Sayaji Rao Gaekward Library, Banaras Hindu University, Varanasi (No. P. ix. 3/62/5). It was formerly in the collection of L. Sri Ram of Delhi and was later donated to the University. Although the style of painting remains the same as in Groups A and B there is little or no modelling in the human figures and faces. There is also less predilection for showing a variety in the style of beards as has been noticed in the earlier groups. Condition of the paintings in this manuscript is much better than in the other manuscripts mentioned above.



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## Tattvamasi: a note on Rāmānuja's interpretation

### 1. The Chāndogya text

It is a common practice of the later Vedantic philosophers, particularly Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja and Mādhava, to appeal to the authority of the Upaniṣads when they are called upon to establish the finality of their metaphysical view. Accordingly Rāmānuja undertook the task of commenting on the scripture and showing that his metaphysical position was just the same as that of the Upaniṣads. However, this task was not so easy. It is true there are a number of Upaniṣads evidently lending support to the metaphysical view of Rāmānuja. ( For a statement of Rāmānuja's view vide section 2 ). It is also true there are a good number of Upaniṣads which are not favourable to him. At this point the task of interpreting them in accordance with his own view becomes really very formidable. Perhaps every commentator who is seeking a support in the Upaniṣads for his own view is confronted with a similar difficulty in one place or other. And Rāmānuja is no exception. One such Upaniṣadic text with which he was greatly concerned is the Chāndogya text. "*Tattvamasi Sveta*" ( 6-8-7 ).

The reason for his great concern for the above text is twofold : first, this text seems to set forth a view diametrically opposite to the view held by him; second, if the text can be shown to be favourable to his view, then it would indirectly administer a rude shock to Śaṅkara who is using the same text in order to establish his view that the self and Brahman are absolutely identical. According to Śaṅkara it is one of the four *mahāvākyas* in the Upaniṣads emphasising the absolute identity of the self and Brahman.

### 2. Rāmānuja's interpretation

According to Rāmānuja the soul and Brahman stand to each other in the relation of body ( *śarīra* ) and self ( *śarīrī* ) the soul is the body of Brahman, and Brahman is the self or the indwelling Principle of the soul. As the body of



Brahman, the soul is always *dependent*, and by reason of this dependence, it is always *different* from the former. This in brief is the metaphysical position of Rāmānuja. But the proposition 'That art Thou', as it asserts the identity of the soul and Brahman, lends little support to his view. Hence Rāmānuja's task is to demonstrate that this text does not really endanger his metaphysical view.

Rāmānuja does not dispute that the proposition is an *identity proposition*. But what he disputes is that it asserts the identity of the *soul* and *Brahman*. He tells us that it is analogous to the proposition "This is that Devadatta". Here "that Devadatta" refers to a person associated with different place and time; the word "This" signifies a person associated with the present time and immediate vicinity; and the word "is" affirms that the person here and now is the same Devadatta seen elsewhere at a past instant. In other words, the above proposition implies that the Devadatta qualified by one set of conditions is the same Devadatta qualified by another set of conditions. Likewise, the Chāndogya text is to be interpreted as referring to an identical reality with two different sets of attributes.

In the proposition "That art Thou" there are three words—"That", "Thou" and "art". According to Rāmānuja the word "That" signifies Brahman as the ultimate cause of the world. The word "Thou" refers to Śvetaketu in the Upaniṣad. Its indirect reference is to the individual man. Rāmānuja argues that "Thou" can not refer to either the body or the finite self (*jīva*) as they do not constitute the essential part of Śvetakeu. Brahman as the indwelling Principle is that essential part in him. Therefore 'Ihou" should be construed as denoting the indwelling Brahman in his self. Finally, the word "art" affirms that the Brahman which is ultimate cause of the world is the *same* Brahman which is the indwelling Principle of the self of Śvetaketu. In other words, the identity asserted by the Chāndogya text is the identity of Brahman in two different forms.

Thus Rāmānuja achieves two things at one stroke, as he really wished to. (1) Since the above text is shown to be not referring to the identity between the self and Brahman but to the identical Brahman having two forms, Rāmānuja is able to save his metaphysics from the danger of losing the support of, or conflict with, the scriptural authority. (2) Another consequence of this interpretation is that now the metaphysics of Śaṅkara is deprived of its alleged support derived from the scripture. By so destroying the scriptural support for Śaṅkara, Rāmānuja scores a point in his favour and uses this opportunity to show that the former's view is false or untenable.

### 3. *Untenability of Rāmānuja's interpretation*

The validity of Rāmānuja's interpretation of the Chāndogya text (6-3-7) depends chiefly on the acceptability or otherwise of the meaning given to the word



"Thou". He takes the word to mean not the individual self but the indwelling Brahman in the self. The commentator is free to take the word in the above sense only when the text in which it occurs does not have any reference to its precise meaning. If for any reason the meaning indicated by the text is bypassed, then the interpretation lays itself open to the fault of misreading the scripture. A careful scrutiny of the Chāndogya texts where the declaration "*Tattvamasi*" occurs, points to the fact that there is little justification for interpreting the word 'tvam' or 'Thou' to mean Brahman within the individual self.

The statement "That art Thou" occurs nine times in the Chāndogya Upaniṣad. When it occurs for the fourth time it comes out with a clue to the exact meaning of the word "Thou". The text runs as follows :

Verily, indeed, this body dies, when  
deprived of the self, the self does not die.  
The whole world has That for its Self. That  
is the Real. He is the Self, That art thou, O  
Śvetaketu ( 6-11-3 ).

There are three parts in the above text : (1) the part referring to the individual self ( *jīva* ) which does not die and in the absence of which the body dies; (2) the part describing the nature of That; and (3) the part referring to the oneness of That and Śvetaketu. The first part emphasises the difference between the undying *jīva* and the mortal body. Note the word '*jīva*', it clearly refers to the individual self. The body is here referred to as simply "this" or '*idam*' ( *jīvāpetam bhāva kiledaṁ mriyate* ). From this it follows that the statement contained in this part is obviously made in the context of the *person* of Śvetaketu. The reference is therefore to the body and *jīva* of Śvetaketu. Also, in drawing the distinction between the body and *jīva* it is indicated that the latter is the essential part in him. This prepares Śvetaketu for the statement to be made at the end of the text. In the second part his attention is invited to the nature of That or He. That, he is told, is of the nature of the Self (*ātma*), the Self of the whole world, and the Real. All these descriptions are aimed at bringing out the significance of That as the ultimate principle. The teaching reaches the culminating point in the third part where the identity of the undying *jīva* of Śvetaketu and the ultimate reality of That is affirmed in the declaration '*Tattvamasi*'.

It is now evident that the clue to the meaning of the word 'Thou' is in the first part of the text itself. It can not be argued that the distinction drawn between the self ( *jīva* ) and the body in the first part has no bearing on the content of the final part of the text. For such an argument can be advanced only at the expense of the unity of the text. To do so is to give up the game of exegesis itself. Therefore we can not but conclude that Rāmānuja's interpretation of the



above text is a deliberate and skilful attempt to shift the attention from the inconvenient to the convenient idea.

Our criticism of Rāmānuja's interpretation of the Chāndogya text (6-8-7) gives rise to many fresh problems. (1) From Rāmānuja's point of view, he is in the danger of losing the support of the scriptural authority for his metaphysical view. Apart from this, it is not possible for him to show that the scripture does not lend support to the metaphysical view of Śaṅkara. Does it then follow that Rāmānuja's view is false or that Śaṅkara's is true? (2) From the point of view of the scripture, the above Chāndogya text comes into conflict with other texts in the Upaniṣads. It teaches that the soul and Brahman are identical, *abheda*. But there are also other texts which teach that the soul and Brahman are different, *bheda*. Is it not necessary then to reinterpret the *bheda* texts in the light of the *abheda*? (3) From the point of view of metaphysics, the idea of identity of the soul and Brahman involves a logical difficulty as to how the finite can become the infinite. Hence, is it not necessary to disregard the literal or primary sense of this idea?

It is not our purpose now to go into the details of these questions, as it would exceed the scope of the present paper. Therefore it is sufficient to indicate the direction in which their solutions actually lie. As for the first question, the purpose of interpreting the scripture, whose authority is supreme in matters metaphysical, is not to use it as a means to justifying the view of this or that person. It is of little consequence to an exegete, for he is interested in expounding the view for which the *scripture* stands. Therefore the question whether Rāmānuja's view is false or Śaṅkara's is true is *irrelevant*. As regards the second, if there is conflict between texts in the scripture, it is not proper to reinterpret the conflicting text in the sense of compelling it to say what we want it to say in the light of the other text we have chosen. In such a situation what we ought to do is to go further and find out the *central text* in the scripture whose idea is large enough to include the ideas of the conflicting texts without at the same time sacrificing their, original sense. A commentary on the scripture should be a work of *interpretation* rather than *re-interpretation*. Regarding the third, if an idea of the scripture is metaphysically inconsistent, it only means that we are reading it in the context of a preconceived view for which the scripture does not really stand and which the scripture is compelled to conform to. Taken in the metaphysical context *proper to the scripture*, the idea finds its rightful place and the question of its metaphysical inconsistency *does not arise*, and the question of retaining or disregarding its primary or literal sense can be settled easily from that point of view.

Briefly stated, the solution to all these problems lies in recognising the fact that the authority of the scripture is supreme in every sense of the word.



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## Book Review

THE PROBLEM OF BEING IN HEIDEGGER *By Chintamani Pathak.*

Published by Bharata Manisha, Varanasi: 1974. pp. ix 137. Rs. 30.00.

Heidegger's writings offer ambivalent fascination for readers which at once allure and disenchant. His philosophical system articulates the fundamental question of *Being*, a question which has long baffled theologians, philosophers, and reflective laymen. What often disheartens and disturbs readers however, is the esoteric and difficult phraseology through which Heidegger reveals this most basic of human concerns. To bring forth the meaning underlying Heidegger's obscure and at times unreadable works, is a task appropriate for a "miracle worker". Pathak appears to be fully aware of this formidable undertaking. Since the comprehension of *Being* depends upon its subject-matter as well as on the method of inquiry. Pathak's work concentrates on these two aspects of Heidegger's philosophy. He aims to accomplish this by thematizing "the basic problems of his [Heidegger's] philosophy and philosophical hermeneutics which [according to him] constitute the bipolar unity of the problems of Being and the problem of the *Logos* of Being . . . "The two main sections of the book engage in such a venture."

The first chapter, "The Problem of Being," is exploratory and clarificatory in nature. It reveals the meaning of Being through the exposition of such complex categories as "the ontological difference," "the forgetfulness of being," and "the clearing ground." This conceptual mapping prepares the groundwork for the discussion of the philosophical method or *Logos* in Chapter II. Here, Pathak explains Heidegger's approach to Being through the three interrelated stages of phenomenology, thinking, and language. The author further attempts to show that the problem of Being, phenomenology, thinking, and language constitute an integral whole, i.e., the subject matter and approach to Being are intertwined.

The discussion of Heidegger's method in the second chapter reveals the author's own philosophical position: he asserts and demonstrates that it is the structure of the world which determines the method of philosophizing. Since reality is multi-faceted, the focus on a particular manifestation by a philosopher, will determine his method of approach, his thinking, and his philosophical language. Here, Pathak attempts to clarify and hopefully to resolve one significant



dispute of contemporary philosophy: he maintains that phenomenology and linguistic analysis are relevant and genuine ways of doing philosophy. Pathak shows that both aim to bring "things" to light and clarity. Though they have similar intentions, their focus on divergent aspects of reality is responsible for their differences. Whereas linguistic analysis concentrates on the description of the "totality of facts" or "empirical states of affairs," phenomenology describes the "meaning of existential structures of being" or the "life world." Because of these varying foci, they adopt different methods of empirical and phenomenological epistemologies. Pathak accepts wholeheartedly the importance of these methods, but rebukes linguistic analysts for the empirically-centered claim that their method alone is the only genuine way of philosophizing. Such a constricted view can only be a partial interpretation of reality. On the contrary, the phenomenological position of Heidegger is comprehensive and holistic and thus, leaves philosophical inquiry "free to play its game seriously without turning into a mock and masquerading philosophizing."

There is much that is significant in this short work. By pinpointing central problems in Heidegger's philosophy, and by mapping a conceptual structure, Pathak delineates a course for inquiry to be carried out by future scholars. To prepare this groundwork is itself a step in the right direction and a sign of serious scholarship. I hope that Pathak will not leave the essential ideas of his work in "seminal form," but rather, will attempt to develop them in greater detail and with philosophic rigor in some forthcoming endeavor.

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INDIAN NUMISMATIC STUDIES. *By K. D. Bajpai.* Abhinav Publications, New Delhi, 1976. Pages 188 + xii + Plates 10. Rs. 65; \$1.300

The present publication offers in a collected form forty-one articles which Prof. Bajpai contributed to several Journals and Volumes. The scope of the articles ranges from the Punch-marked coins to Harṣa. A large number of articles concern the Janapada and Gupta coins with a few on the foreign issues. Besides these, the first article deals with the question of the authority of minting coins in ancient India, whereas the last but one is a general survey of the progress of numismatic studies. The fifth and seventh articles, dealing respectively with the Early History of central India and the Post-Aśokan history of Kauśāmbī, justify their inclusion



in the volume by the importance the numismatic evidence possesses in their treatment. Articles no. 12 to 14 discuss three sealings.

The publication is of great use to students and researchers alike. We find here a detailed and critical discussion on some of the major problems of ancient Indian numismatics. Some of the chapters present new evidence shedding welcome light on many an obscure point in the ancient period of Indian History.

The author has taken care to increase the usefulness of the publication by suitable revision, wherever necessary, and by including a select bibliography and ten plates.

I am sure all lovers of the subject would like to own a copy of the book.

Lallanji Gopal

Head. Anc. Ind. Hist. & Cult.

B. H. U.

**SMRĪTĪTARĀṄGAM** By Madhukar Govind Mainkar. Published by the Author from the Deptt. of Sanskrit, University of Bombay, 1975. pp. 31. Rs. 6/-

*Smṛititarāṅgam* is the first published poetic work of a noted Professor of Sanskrit. Prof. Mainkar needs no introduction to the students of Sanskrit literature in particular, and of Indology in general. As a consummate critic, Prof. Mainkar has presented a number of studies on the Vedas, the drama and dramaturgy and of course on Kālidāsa, the greatest of Sanskrit poets. All these works bear the imprint of his talent that may be termed, after Rājasekhara, as '*bhāvayitṛ pratibhā*'. As opposed to these, the present work shows up his '*kārayitṛ pratibhā*'. A connoisseur of art or a gifted critic may not be a creative artist himself but if it is so, the outcome definitely tends to be memorable. In our opinion, Prof. Mainkar has successfully proved, in this short poem, that critical faculty does not necessarily hamper the creative faculty, or in other words, a critic can be a good poet too.

The work under review is a Kāvya of 115 verses, divided into 20 sections called '*tarāṅgas*'. It is the intense personal note that marks this poem and distinguishes it as a form of literature. In a classical language as formal as Sanskrit, it is seldom that we hear a personal note. We concur with the view of the great Bengali poet, Rabindranath that it is in Kālidāsa's Meghadūta that we hear for the first time the poet's 'own voice'. It is neither the story-element, nor the didactic



cism, nor again the variety of metre and style in the Meghadūta that captivates the heart but the intense feeling of a lover in separation. Prof. Mainkar's *Smṛtitarāṅgam* also has this element of the Meghadūta and aims to charm the reader in the same fashion.

The theme is simple—a lover weeps the loss of his beloved who, though charming in every respect, leaves her lover for heaven as a result of an attack of Cancer 'श्यामा वामा दिवमुपगता कर्करोगेण दीर्णा'. It is the loss of this beloved, to whom the lover dedicated his entire soul, that haunts him. In the wide and crowded world, he now finds himself utterly lonely and everything here reminds him of the sweet charms of the beloved. To him life now appears to have only a form but no content. Like his forerunner, the *Yakṣa*, he also finds it difficult to account for the separation from one who was love incarnate, and accuses her of cruelty :

‘रक्तं कान्तं कठिनहृदये मामुपेक्ष्यैव शोत्रं चण्डि क्रूरं दिवमुपगता निष्ठुरासि प्रिये त्वम् ॥ ( I, 3 )

Clearly the poet follows Kālidāsa in his theme, which is not rare. What strikes as significant, however, are his fine poetic sensibility and use of imagery that are novel as well as in perfect tune with the poetic tradition of Sanskrit. Borrowing some phrases from Kālidāsa here and there, the poet successfully reminds us of the diction and facility of Kālidāsan expression at several places. This is a great achievement.

As a poet of the modern times, Prof. Mainkar has happily given us many fine expressions which are new in the vocabulary of Sanskrit but nonetheless charming. The references to the play of Badminton (I, 4), exchange of ring at the time of engagement with the beloved (IV, 4), birds and flowers of daily acquaintance, and to the album of pictures,—are a few instances where modern feeling has been harmoniously blended with the classical form of expression. In addition to Kālidāsa, the poet reminds us of Bhāsa while referring to the drawings of his beloved—‘आवन्ती सा सखि विलिखिता कोणहस्ता सलज्जा, etc. (X, 3) and of Bāṇa's statement by direct reference (XIII, 6).

The poet himself likes to call the poem an elegy and as far as the definition is concerned, it certainly belongs to this variety. At the same time, existence of the 'vilāpas', and notably the Ajavilāpa, as has been rightly observed by the poet himself, this can be treated as a beautiful instance of a 'vilāpa' complete in itself. What we are pleased to note is not its mere conformity with the code but the intrinsic poetic merit so successfully expressed in it. Unlike the earlier poets, this poet of the modern times does not philosophise on the futility of all human life but sings the glory of life in the background of inevitable death however unbearable that may be.



In a review of poems, the best method is to quote some fine verses, so that the *Sahṛdaya* may himself be able to judge. I only would refer to the 19th Taraṅga which to my mind appears to be the best. The first verse, though almost a paraphrase of Kālidāsa, has attained a rare depth of feeling in the background of the grim demise of the beloved.

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THE IMPERIAL GUPTAS AND THEIR TIMES (cir. A. D. 300-550). By *Sachindra Kumar Maity*. Munshiram Manoharlal Publishers Pvt. Ltd. Pages 286t x. Rs. 55-00

The Gupta period has always attracted the attention of researchers and scholars on account of its brilliant achievements in different fields of state and society. For Indian scholars it had provided an occasion for national glorification in the pre-Independence days. It could easily match the best achievements of other countries and nations in their Classical age or Golden period. There was an academic justification as well for this emphasis on Gupta period. The period, with its diverse types of evidence about all possible aspects of history and culture, has served as a subject, complete in itself, for intensive study and training in historical reconstruction.

Earlier we had the works of R. D. Banerji, S. K. Aiyangar, Raghunandan Shastri and B. Upadhyaya followed by the studies of R. N. Dandekar, R. N. Salletore, R. C. Majumdar and A. S. Altekar. After Independence were published the monographs of R. K. Mookerji, V. R. R. Dikshitar, K. M. Shambavmekar and S. K. Maity. Recently there has been again a wave of publications on the Gupta period by Dr. U. N. Roy, Dr. P. L. Gupta, Dr. B. S. Upadhyaya and Dr. S. R. Goyal. The present work, from the pen of Dr. S. K. Maity, who has already made two useful studies on the Gupta period, is welcome. It gives a compact picture of the total personality of the Gupta period.

Chapter I brings out the salient features of the monograph. The following two chapters discuss the details of the political history of the period. The subsequent eight chapters deal respectively with administration, social life, economic life, religion, education, language, literature, scripts, scientific and other cultural achievements and art in the Gupta period. The sections on economic life and art are in



the form of detailed summaries of earlier publications which are easily available; hence the author dispenses with references to support his views. The remaining chapters incorporate his own reconstruction on the topics with the help of original evidence.

The author has taken pains to incorporate the latest researches. But he has not taken any notice of the recent studies done by B. S. Upadhyaya, P. L. Gupta and U. N. Roy. Likewise, he should have mentioned the view which describes the Kuṣāṇa age as the period of prosperity, compared with which the Gupta age witnessed decline.

But all this does not detract from the merit of the book. It will long remain a standard text book on the subject and will be used with profit by researchers as well.

Dr. Mrs. Krishna Kanti Gopal





## Notes & Comments

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### WHEN AND WHERE TO STOP

One can at once feel the pulse of India from the recent statement of the Prime Minister, Mrs. Indira Gandhi. She says "Technology should be used to provide essentials of food, shelter, clothing, health, education and culture to not create new wants or to encourage the accumulation of goods, the possession of which gives pleasure for but a moment, soon breeding discontent and restlessness." She then adds, "If we are true to ourselves, we should know when and where to stop." Indeed a remarkable expression.

This is an indication of the revival of the true spirit of India which is spiritualism. India lives for her philosophy, Religion and Culture. The Prime Minister of a democratic country is not only a political representative of the people but also she represents the soul of that country and thus must speak in that term. We feel the soul of India Spoke these words through Mrs. Gandhi.

We fully endorse to what she says. For some time India drifted away from her true stand. It has its reasons also. Modern amenities and luxuries in the west are the gifts of Science and Technology. India inspite of her great heritage suffered, under foreign yoke and in her helpless condition, naturally looked to the west where there was freedom, enjoyment and affluence. We cannot altogether divorce the claims of our physical existence and its requirements. A change thus came. India accepted the challenge and proved herself capable of competing with the west. Mrs. Gandhi knows that the pleasures derived from Technological achievements are shortlived and soon they breed 'discontent and restlessness.' So, there must be a compromise—a 'thus far & no further' command which ensures happiness and peace.

### HALDIGHATI

It is a happy augury that the Government of Rajasthan with the moral support of the Central Government, has become active to commemorate the glory of Haldighati, historically so very important bearing in its bosom the bones of the great heroes of Rajasthan who faught and sacrificed their lives for the sake of independences. Long 400 years have elapsed since when Rana Pratap the great, in



order to upkeep the prestige of his country fought the mughal army against innumerable odds (20000 against 80000). The strong determination and valour which the great Rana and his compatriots displayed is written in the pages of history in golden letters. Independent India will lack in its duty if it fails to pay homage to great souls who gave their lives for the sake of the independence of their motherland.

The wide open field where the great battle was fought still remains uninhabited except for some cenotaphs here and there, the main one being the 'Chetak' cenotaph.

Efforts are being made to restore the old look of Haldighati. The deserted land has of late become noisy and fully alive.

Haldighati, just a mile and a half in length, is in the heart of the Aravallis about 20 miles from Udaipur. But for all these 400 years it was left deserted and uncared for. The indomitable spirit with which Rana Pratap crossed sword with the mighty mughal emperor and the great sacrifice and valour displayed by his Bhil subjects in spite of their extreme poverty and economic backwardness, serves as a great inspiration to the people of this country. If we learn to pay homage to the great souls of the past, their spirit will act in us to make us brave and instil in us the spirit of sacrifice.

#### DREAM PROVES TRUE

One cannot divorce a dream as altogether phantastic or meaningless. Sometimes it tells the truth and proves immensely useful. The fact narrated hereunder is one of that kind. Choudhary Amar Singh, an inhabitant of the district of Sangrur, dreamt a dream 25 years ago about a tank in the outskirts of a village 15 km from Sangrur. Chowdhary Amar Singh, an old man with a religious bent of mind, could not wipe out the dream from his mind. On the contrary he urged the villagers to help him in digging out the tanks but the villagers were reluctant to join hands with him and dismissed it as sheer fancy. Amar Singh however, could not forget that he was told in the dream, the exact distance and the location where the tank lay under the ground. This gave him the impetus to try himself. The digging was started by him all alone. Enough of patience he had shown in the work. At first many of his attempts failed but ultimately he succeeded in striking the right spot. Eight feet deep was the pit and one corner of the tank was discovered. The news of the discovery spread like wild fire. Archaeologists from Dehradun and Chandigarh rushed into the spot. While the digging was still in progress Amar Singh died. The work remained closed for sometime when a drama-party from Ayodhya came over there. They took interest in the matter and further digging started. It is still incomplete. The area of the tank, as it was measured, is 300 ft by 80 ft. The legend that the Pandavas during



their exile lived there is now believed to be true and as a result thousands of pilgrims visit the place every year.

The State Government constructed a metalled road in the village to facilitate the journey to the tank. The Department of archeology, Panjab Government, took some interest in the matter. But for some reason or other nothing mentionable was done.

We hope the Govt. of Panjab and the Deptt. of Archeology will take-up the matter in right earnest and arrange for further excavation which move might bring to light valuable facts relating to the Mahabharata.

### THE FIFTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE OF YOGA-TEACHERS

The fifth international conference to the International Yoga Teachers Association is now resolved to be held in India in December, 76 with the concurrence of the Govt. of India. The Conference is being organised at Panchgani near Poona (the Head Quarters of the Moral re-armament Mission) as a Yoga reorientation camp for ten days from 20th December, 76 to 29th December, 76. Experts and adepts of the various aspects of yoga are participating and contributing to its different session. More than 200 foreign delegates are coming to make the conference a big success. The conference is surely going to be a unique opportunity for all the lovers of Yoga to acquaint themselves with the latest movement of yoga awareness and to learn the latest yogic techniques of curing various diseases and to be initiated into the latest processes of gaining mental health and spiritual enlightenment.

The conference is being organised with the help of a body of distinguished experts as follows

- President : Mrs. Sally Janssen
- Organisers : Friends of Yoga Society.
- General Co-ordinator : Mrs. Maria Helena de Bastos Freire.
- Co-ordinator of Scientific Sessions : Dr. Narain Varandani.
- Co-ordinator of Philosophic Session : Dr. R. K. Shringy
- Co-ordinator of Specific Yoga Sessions ; Dr. K. S. Joshi.

### Programme

There will be talks and demonstrations on Āsanas ; Prāṇāyāma ; Parapsychology and Siddhis; Scientific Evaluation of Meditation Techniques ; colour, sound and form, Yoga Chikitsa, Yoga Nidra ; Kaya Kalpa ; Western Relaxation Techniques; Surya Namaskara; the Tattwas and their influence in the practice of yoga ; Kriyā Yoga ; Tantra and Science ; Preservation of Natural Resources.



There will also be morning Hatha Yoga Classes, evening Prāṇāyāma classes, and Satsanghs at which there will be commentaries on Yoga Vashista by spiritual leaders like Swami Venkatesananda, Ma Yogashakti, Dr. Swami Gitananda, Swami Anandananda, Swami Yogiraj Prem Chaitanya, Swami Nijabodha, Srimat Virananda Giri and Sri B. K. S. Iyenga.

The commentaries will be co-ordinated by Dr. R. K. Shringy and will be followed by meditation by all.

## The Speaker :

The following Yogis, scholars and philosophers have agreed to contribute their knowledge and understanding of the various branches of Yoga as under.

### 1. SCIENTIFIC SESSIONS

#### *Subjects*

Asanas  
Pranayams  
Parapsychology and Siddhis

#### *Speakers*

Mr. B. K. S. Iyengar ( India )  
Mr. Pattabi Jois ( India )  
Dr. B. L. Atreya ( India )

### 2. SCIENTIFIC EVALUATION OF MEDICATION TECHNIQUES REGARDING COLOUR, SOUND AND FORM :

3. Yoga and Backache
4. Yoga Chikitsa
5. Yoga Nidra
6. Kaya Kalpa
7. Western Relaxation techniques and Their Application in Yoga Classes
8. Coordination of Research in Yoga
9. Garbadharan Yoga ( Yoga in Pregnancy )
10. Yogā as a Technique in Counselling Psycho Therapy
11. Experimental Studies in Pranayamic breathing
12. Special Contribution of Yoga to the Field of Physical Education
13. Yoga's Role in Preserving Natural Resources
14. Yoga and Ecological Balance

Marie Madleine Chapuis ( France )  
Sri Mahadeva Bhat  
Dr. Mekote ( India )  
Dr. Joshi ( India )  
Swami Gitananda ( India )  
Dr. J. Freiger ( Brazil )  
Dr. Narain Varandani ( India )  
Herminia Pereira and Hedi Feuerwerker ( Brazil )

Dr. Mercedes Clue

Dr. Bhole

Dr. Garote

Wide Simoesde Wattos and  
Mrs. Maria Heena de Bastos  
Freire ( Brazil )  
Dr. Bhamgara



## II. PHILOSOPHICAL SESSIONS

### *Subjects*

1. Meaning of Shakti and Power in Tantra
2. Kriyā Yoga
3. The Optional Way of Life for Yoga Teachers
4. Suggestions for Creating and Developing Yoga Awareness in our Times
5. Suggestions for the Yogis to participate in Preservation of the Natural Resources.
6. Ecology and Yoga
7. Tantra and Science
8. The Goal of Group Activity in nowadays Yoga
9. The Significance of Shri Cakra in Shri Vidya
10. A New Approach to the Yoga of Patanjali
11. Yoga and Religion
12. Communities
13. Yoga for the Development of Consciousness

### *Speaker*

Dr. Kundu—India  
Ma Yoga Shakti—India  
Sally Janssen, Australia.

Dr. R. K. Shringy, India

Neide Simoes—Brazil  
Maria H. B. Freire, Brazil  
Dr, Bhagwan Das, India.

Dr. Jayme Treiger, Brazil

Swami Nujabodha, India

Dr. C. V. Karambelkar  
Dr. R. S. Misra India  
Shri Prem Mallik, India

Shri M. Pandit, India

## III. SPECIFIC YOGA SESSIONS

### *Subjects*

1. Sadan Yoga
2. Yoga Vasistha
3. Technique/s of Mediation
4. Kundalini Yoga
5. Hath Yoga ( Āsanās )
6. Hath Yoga ( Prāṇāyāma )

### *Speakers*

Swami Yogiraj Premchaitanya  
( France )  
Dr. R. K. Shringy ( India )  
Dr. U. Nee, India  
Shri Rohit Mehta, India  
Shri B. K. S. Iyengar, India  
Shri Pattabhi Jois, India

## IV. SATSANGA ON YOGA VASISTHA ( EVERY EVENING )

Commentaries of the Yoga Vasistha by the attending Swamis followed by a meditation by all as co-ordinated by Dr. R. K. Shringy.



The spiritual leaders who have already agreed to conduct the Sat-Sangh :

- |                         |                                 |
|-------------------------|---------------------------------|
| 1. Swami Venkatesananda | 7. Swami Yogiraj Prem Chaitanya |
| 2. Ma Yogashakti        | 8. Shri Pattabhi Jois           |
| 3. Swami Gitananda      | 9. Shri B. K. S. Iyengar        |
| 4. Swami Anandananda    | 10. Dr. B. L. Atreya            |
| 5. Swami Raghavendra    | 11. Dr. K. S. Joshi             |
| 6. Shri Prem Mallik     | 12. Dr. Kundu                   |

Many other engaging programmes from 7.00 A. M. to 11. 30 P. M.

#### DELEGATE FEES :

Rs. 300/- Lunch and tea will be provided to all Delegates. Arrangements for transport, board and lodging may be made by Delegates at their own expense.

Applications for participation should be sent as early as possible to the Executive Secretary, Friends of Yoga Society at the above mentioned address together with a cheque of Bank draft for Rs. 300/- payable to the Friends of Yoga Society. ( Account Payee only ).

#### CLOSING DATE :

Last date for enrolling Delegates is 15th October, 76. As accommodation is limited, persons desiring to enrol are advised to do so immediately. Due to the great enthusiasm, only 50 vacancies are remaining.





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## Philosophy & Religion

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